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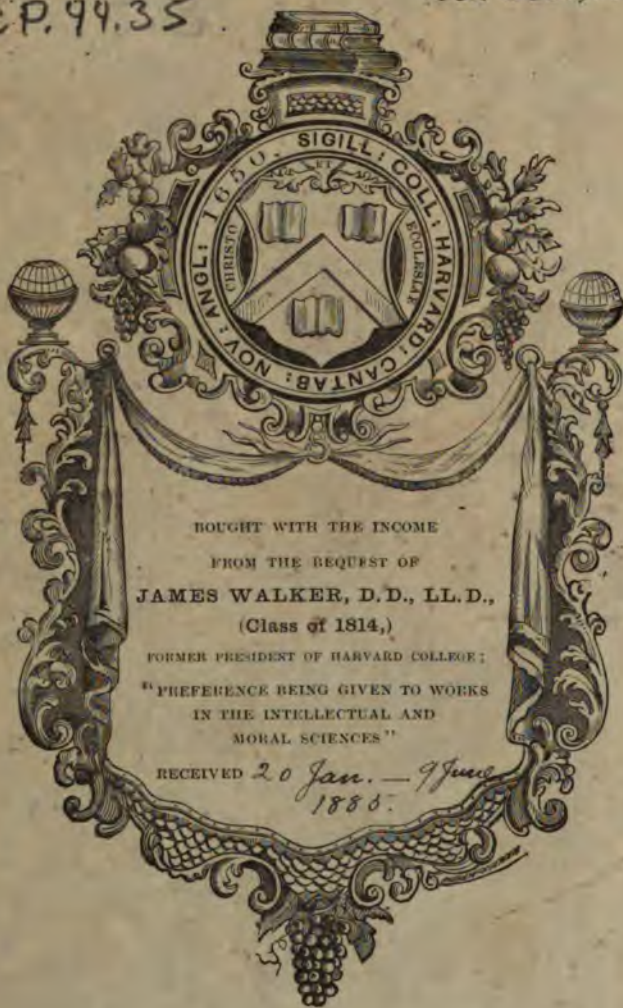
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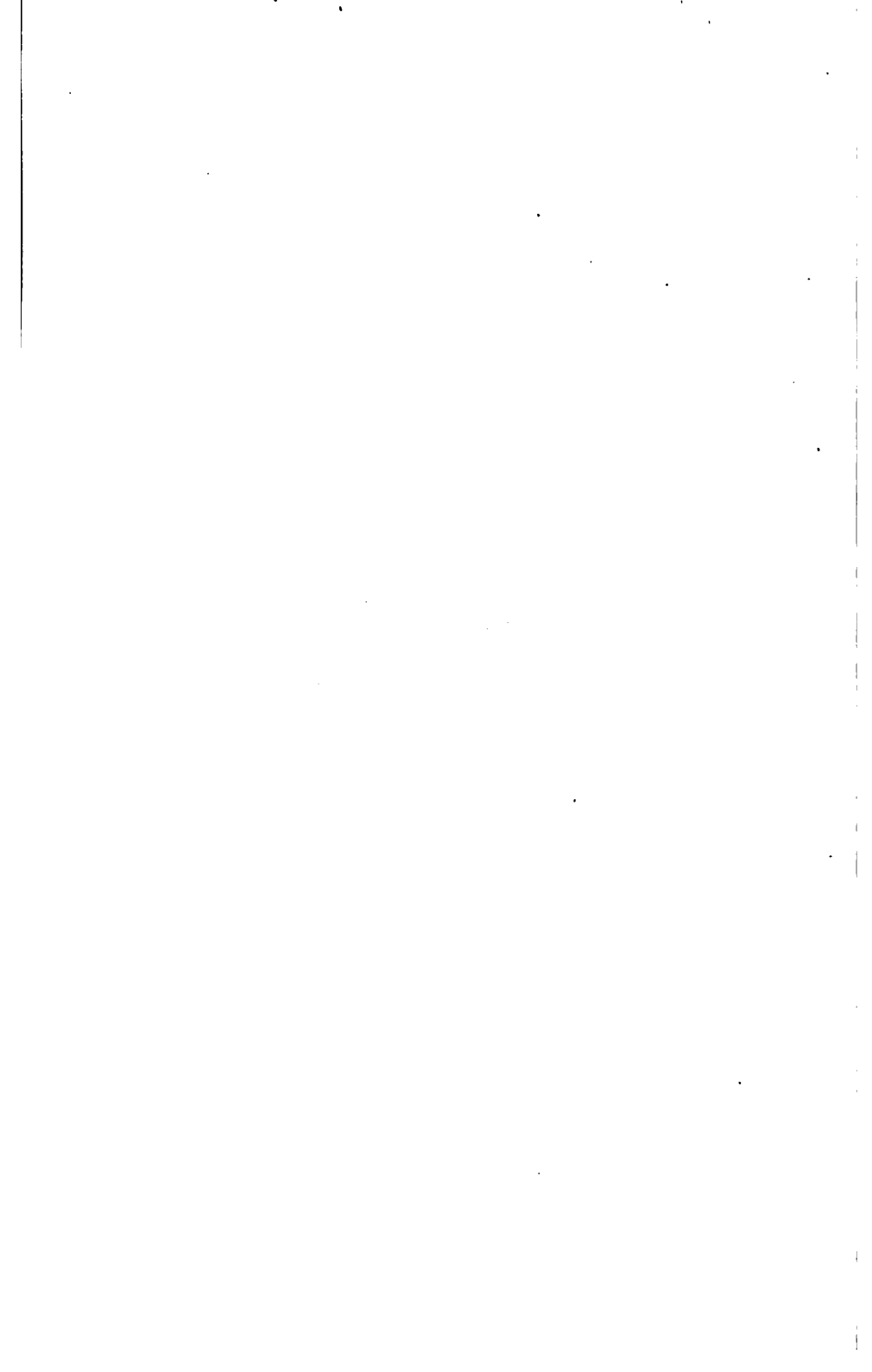
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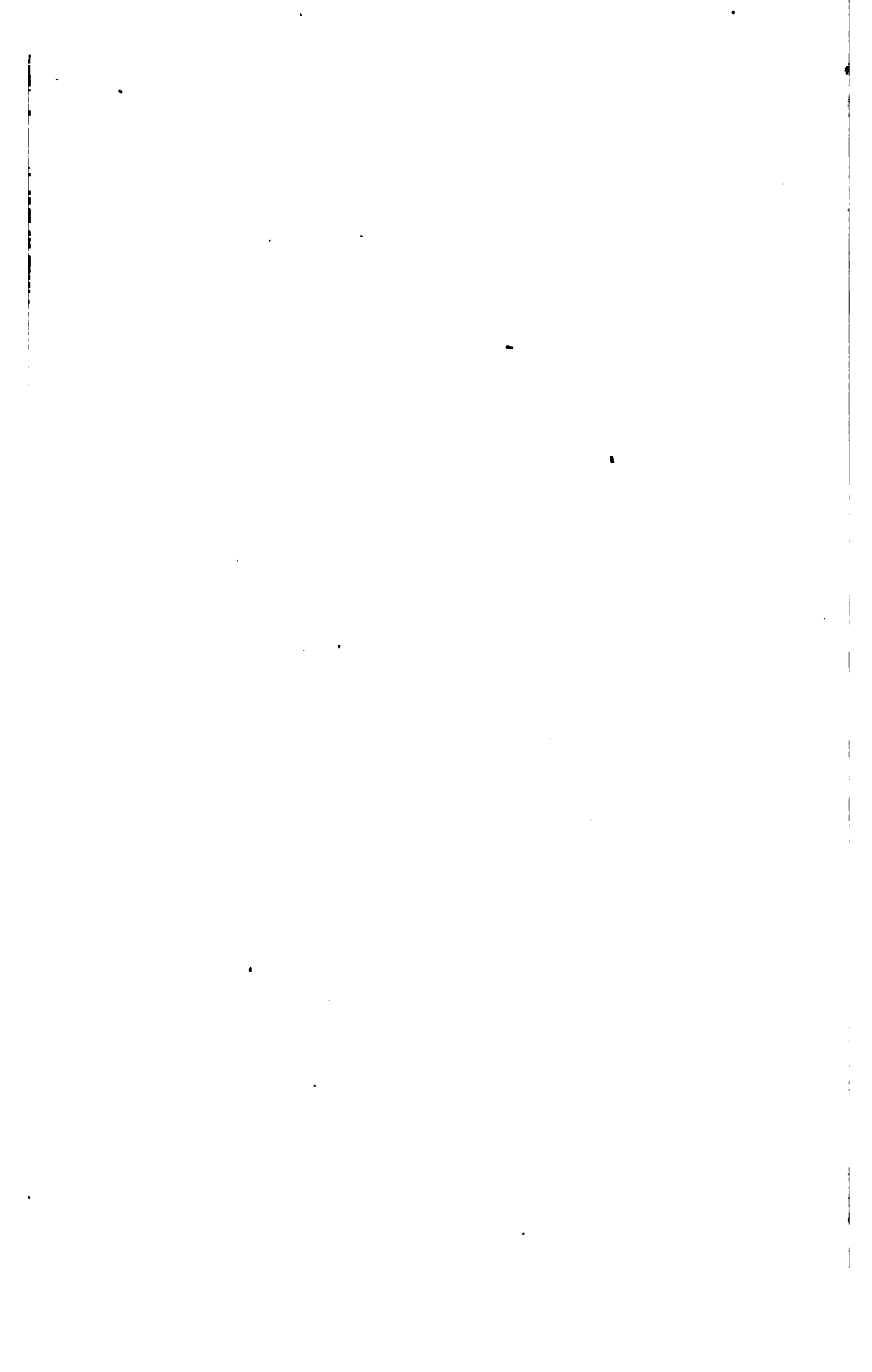


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W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A.

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17-1-87
3

PREFACE.

I THANKFULLY acknowledge the great success thus far of the new series of **THE EXPOSITOR**. The circulation has been far beyond any attained hitherto. For the kindness of numberless critics and correspondents on both sides of the Atlantic I desire to express sincere gratitude.

Every effort will be made to maintain and increase the value of the periodical. The Revised Version of the Old Testament will be fully explained and criticised by the foremost Hebraists of this country. Special arrangements have been made whereby the readers of **THE EXPOSITOR** will be placed in possession of the latest information as to all discoveries in Biblical Archæology. Scholars like Prof. Socin of Tübingen, Prof. Ramsay of Oxford, Prof. Stokes of Dublin, and others, universally recognised as authorities of the first rank, have promised their aid. The Biographical and Critical Studies, which have been so attractive, will be continued. Competent and impartial criticism of new books will be given. But the great aim of the Magazine will be, as before, to furnish expositions of the Word of God from the most scholarly and reverent writers of the time.

I shall more than ever endeavour to make this Magazine the meeting place of scholars of all countries—more especially of English-speaking lands. It is now published in America, and already includes some of her foremost scholars as contributors.

A new feature is the etching of some distinguished theologian which will in future be given with each volume. The etching for the volume now completed, of Bishop Martensen, will be followed by one of Professor Godet. I am anxious to express in the strongest manner my gratitude to Mr. P. G. Hamerton, the distinguished Editor of the *Portfolio*, for his generous helpfulness in this matter.

KELSO, *May*, 1885.

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1. The Writer and the Readers.

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III. The Contribution of Science to Christianity, I.

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IV. Dives and Lazarus.

BY REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

V. Bishop Martensen.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

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*RESULTS OF RECENT HISTORICAL AND TOPO-
GRAPHICAL RESEARCH UPON NEW TESTA-
MENT SCRIPTURES.¹*

WHEN I took counsel with myself how I should treat the subject intrusted to me, and what limitations I should fix to the range of topics included in my paper, I soon found that I had no choice. The boundary line was distinctly traced out for me by circumstances.

At the Reading Congress a year ago a paper was read on this very subject by an able Oxford Professor—avowedly a continuation of an inaugural lecture which he had recently delivered in the University. In these two papers he had traversed the whole ground up to the date of the last Congress, and no more competent guide in this province could be found. The term “recent” therefore, though sufficiently elastic in itself, must receive a very strict interpretation from me. I am constrained to confine myself to the discoveries published within the last twelve months. But I take courage in a prophetic passage which I find in the able and exhaustive summary by Professor Sanday, to which I have already referred. “After all,” he writes, “we are only picking up the gleanings of bygone ages. We are not reaping a harvest on virgin soil, and yet of late the very gleanings have been so rich, that we cannot refrain from hoping that those which lie before us in the immediate

¹ Read at the Carlisle Church Congress, 1884, and revised, with additions, by the Author.

future may be not less so." This hope has not been disappointed.

Having thus restricted the sphere of discussion, I shall confine myself to two recent discoveries of great interest and importance for the earliest history of Christianity.

I. I will ask you first to accompany me to Asia Minor. It is plain that the students of early Christian history are yet very far from recognising the extreme importance of a thorough investigation of this region. Otherwise there would be no lack of funds to sustain such explorations as those carried on by Mr. Wood at Ephesus and Mr. Ramsay in Phrygia. Asia Minor was the principal scene of St. Paul's missionary labours; it was likewise the chief focus of Christian thought and action in the second century. Yet Asia Minor teems with undiscovered records of the past. It would only be an innocent exaggeration if I were to say that every spadeful of soil turned up would reveal some secret of antiquity. It should be remembered also that in these regions Christianity courted publicity with a boldness of face which it did not venture to assume elsewhere. Thus we may expect to find there not a few memorials of the earliest Christian times buried under the accumulated rubbish of ages. Even where no distinct Christian records are attainable, the contemporary heathen monuments have often the highest value in verifying, interpreting, and illustrating the notices in the Bible or in early Christian history. Let me give one single illustration, showing how an accidental discovery, trivial in itself and apparently alien to all the interests of the ecclesiastical historian, may lead to results of the highest moment. Among the stones disinterred a few years ago by Mr. Wood at Ephesus, was one containing the name and date of a certain obscure proconsul Julianus. Now this proconsul happens to be mentioned in the heathen rhetorician Aristides. Thus M. Waddington was enabled to correct and revise the chrono-

logy of Aristides' life. But it so happens that Aristides elsewhere refers to another proconsul Quadratus—the same who presided at the martyrdom of Polycarp. With these data M. Waddington fixed the time of Polycarp's death some twelve years before the received date, and the inferential consequences, as affecting Polycarp's relations with St. John and thus bearing on the continuity of Church doctrine and practice, have the highest value. More recently the labours of Mr. Ramsay, who has explored the comparatively untrodden regions of Phrygia with the eye of a scholar and antiquarian, have thrown a flood of light on the ecclesiastical arrangements of the district; and still greater things may yet be expected from their continuance, if the necessary funds are forthcoming. In the course of one season he discovered about a dozen Christian monumental inscriptions belonging to the second and third centuries, and dating from the reign of Hadrian onward. To one of these sepulchral inscriptions, second to no early monument of Christianity in interest, I desire to direct your attention. Though not having a very immediate bearing on the Scriptures, yet indirectly, as indicating the common beliefs and practices of the Christians in these early ages, it has the highest significance. In the spurious *Life of Abercius*, Bishop of Hierapolis, as given by the Metaphrast, an inscription is incorporated professing to have been written by the saint for his tomb in his own lifetime. Though much corrupted and written continuously as if it were prose, it is easily seen to fall into hexameter verses. In the course of his explorations in 1883, Mr. Ramsay discovered *in situ* a portion of this very epitaph inscribed on an altar-shaped tomb, not however at Hierapolis on the Mæander, but at Hieropolis, a more obscure city near Synnada.¹ As it

¹ The results of Mr. Ramsay's explorations will be found in two articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. *The Tale of Abercius*, 1882, pp. 339 sq., and *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1883, pp. 424 sq.

4 RESULTS OF HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

answers in all other respects to the notices in the *Life of Abercius*, Hierapolis in the existing text of this *Life* is plainly a corruption for Hieropolis. Thus, from being merely a critical puzzle, this epitaph henceforward ranks as a historical monument. Though comprising only twenty-two lines, it is full of matter illustrating the condition and usages of the Church in the latter half of the second century. Abercius declares himself to be a disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feeds his flocks on mountains and plains. This Shepherd is described as having great eyes which look on every side. As we read this description, we may well imagine it drawn from some pictorial representation of the Good Shepherd which the writer had seen in the Roman catacombs or elsewhere. But however this may be, the underlying theology and the reference to the imagery in St. John's Gospel will be obvious. The author says likewise that the Shepherd taught him "faithful writings," meaning doubtless the Evangelical narratives and the Apostolic Epistles. He further sent him to royal Rome, where he saw the golden-robed, golden-sandalled queen, and a people wearing a bright seal. The queen and the seal have been interpreted literally—the one being identified with Faustina, the consort of Marcus Aurelius, and the other explained of the signet rings worn by the higher orders, the senators and knights, among the Romans. On the foundation of this supposed interview with the empress, a legendary story, full of portentous miracles, has been piled. But we can hardly be wrong in giving a figurative explanation to these incidents in accordance with the general character of the epitaph. The queen will then be the Church of the imperial city, and the people wearing the seal will be the Christian brethren signed by baptism. The writer further tells us that he went to Syria, and crossed the Euphrates, visiting Nisibis. Everywhere he found comrades—that is, fellow-Christians. Faith led the

way, and following her guidance he took Paul for his companion—or, in other words, the Epistles of the Apostle were his constant study. Wherever he went, his guide set before him for food fish from the fountain. The fountain here, it is hardly necessary to say, is baptism, and the fish is the Divine *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour; so that this is perhaps the earliest example of the acrostic which afterwards became common. This fish is further described as “exceeding large and clean,” and as having been grasped by a pure virgin. Faith gives this fish to her “friends to eat continually, offering good wine, and giving a mixed cup with bread.” It is needless to dwell on the picture which is here presented. The miraculous Incarnation, the omniscient omnipresent energy of Christ, the Scriptural writings, the two Sacraments, the extension and catholicity of the Church—all stand out in definite outline and vivid colours, only the more striking because this is no systematic exposition of the theologian, but the chance expression of a devout Christian soul. A light is thus flashed in upon the inner life of the Christian Church in this remote Phrygian city. But I would call your attention more especially to two points. First. The writer describes himself as in his seventy-second year when he composes this epitaph. If it was written, as there is good reason to believe, as early as the reign of Commodus, or perhaps even earlier, he must have been born not later than about A.D. 120—some twenty years after the death of St. John, who passed the last decades of his life in Ephesus, the capital of this same province. Thus he would be reared amidst the still fresh traditions of the last surviving Apostle. Secondly. He visits the far West and the far East, and everywhere he finds not only the same Church and the same sacraments, but also, as we may infer from his language, the same, or substantially the same, theology. His faith was the faith of the Catholic Church. This monument

therefore is another stubborn protest against certain modern theories of early Christian history. Each fresh discovery is a fresh nail driven into the coffin of Tübingen speculation.

II. From this interesting monumental epitaph I turn to a record of a wholly different kind. When in the year 1875 Bryennios, then Bishop of Serræ, published for the first time, from a manuscript at Constantinople, the two Epistles of Clement complete, he gave a list of the other contents of the same volume. Among these was a work entitled *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*. As a work of this name is mentioned by Eusebius and others among early apocryphal writings, a hope was excited in the minds of those interested in such studies, that this might be the book alluded to, and that it would throw some light on the vexed question of the origin of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Eight or nine years however elapsed, and no more was heard of it. At length, at the close of last year (1883), it was given to the world. Its interest and importance have far exceeded our highest expectations. It is found indeed to be the basis of the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*; but this is the smallest item in our gain. Its chief value consists in the light which it throws on the condition of the infant Church. We are met however with this preliminary difficulty, that it does not carry its date on its face, and we must have recourse to critical inferences in establishing its age. There can be little or no question however, that it is not only the work mentioned by Eusebius, but also the work quoted by Clement of Alexandria as "scripture." In the absence of any direct indication, it has been placed as late as A.D. 140-160 by Bryennios, but I do not doubt that we should be more near the mark in dating it with most English and some German critics somewhere between A.D. 80-110. The reasons are briefly these. In the first place, the Eucharist still remains part of the *Agape*. This follows from the fact that, in connexion with the Eucharistic prayers, directions

are given about what is to be done when the persons present "are filled," "are satisfied." But the separation of the two seems to have taken place about the time of the Bithynian persecution under Pliny (A.D. 112); and in the age of Justin Martyr they are evidently distinct. In the corresponding passage of the later work, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the words "after they are filled" are replaced by "after their participation," the alteration of usage requiring an alteration of phrase. Again, the picture which it exhibits of the Christian ministry suggests a very early date. The points to be observed are twofold. *First*, as in St. Paul's account in the First Epistle to the Corinthians and in the Epistle to the Ephesians, so here also we have both an itinerant and a localised ministry—the former consisting mainly of apostles and prophets, and the functions of the two shading off into one another, so that it is not easy to draw the line between them; and, *secondly*, the localised ministry is confined to two orders, who are called bishops and deacons, as in the Epistle to the Philippians and elsewhere in the Apostolic writings. Here again the comparison with the *Apostolical Constitutions* is suggestive. Where our document has "bishops and deacons," the later work in the corresponding passage substitutes "bishops, presbyters, and deacons." Thus, when our author wrote, "bishop" still remained a synonym for "presbyter," and the episcopal office, properly so called, had not been constituted in the district in which he lived. Now there is no distinct trace of this first state of things—the itinerant ministry side by side with the localised—after the Apostolic writings, not even in the Apostolic Fathers; while as regards the second point—the identity of meaning in the terms "bishop" and "presbyter"—the latest example is found in Clement's Epistle, which was written about A.D. 95; and in Asia Minor and Syria at all events, episcopacy proper was a recognised institution when Ignatius wrote in the early years of the second century. As

our work however may with some probability be assigned to Alexandria—for all its affinities are Alexandrian—and the march of events was probably not so rapid there as elsewhere, we may perhaps allow the latitude of a few years more. But, it will be urged, the description of the “Two Ways,” with which it commences, is obviously plagiarised from the Epistle of Barnabas, and this Epistle cannot be placed as early as this date for the plagiarist would require. In replying to this objection, I would altogether waive the question respecting the date of the Epistle of Barnabas, though I might have something to say on this point. But when I find two sets of critics, each maintaining with equal confidence and with some show of reason, the one that Barnabas borrows from the *Doctrine*, the other that the *Doctrine* is indebted to Barnabas, a third solution is suggested to my mind as more probable than either. May it not have been that neither author plagiarises from the other, but that both derive the matter which they have in common from a third source? The idea of the Two Ways was familiar to Greek philosophers. May not some pious Jew then have taken up this idea and interwoven into it the moral code of the Old Testament, writing perhaps under the mask of a heathen philosopher, who thus was made an unwilling witness to the superiority of Jewish ethics? The adoption of a heathen pseudonym was not an uncommon device with the literary Jew before and about the time of the Christian era, as, for instance, in the maxims of the pseudo-Phocylides and the predictions of the pseudo-Sibyllines. The early date which I venture to assign to the *Doctrine of the Apostles* agrees well with its general character. There is an archaic simplicity—I had almost said a childishness—in its practical directions, which is only consistent with the early infancy of a Church. Such, for instance, is the test which it suggests of truth and falsehood. A true apostle, says the writer, will only remain in a place a

single day or two at most; if a man who sets up for an apostle stays a third, he is a false prophet. Of the genuineness of this document there can be no shadow of doubt. No one could or would have forged it. It serves no party interests; it pleases nobody; it is neither sacramentarian nor anti-sacramentarian, neither sacerdotal nor anti-sacerdotal, but both (at least in appearance) by turns. We may therefore safely use it as a witness; but, while doing so, we must be careful not to attribute to it an authority to which it lays no claim. It pleads no official sanction. Its title is not intended to suggest its authorship. We may accept it as the private venture of some one who desires to set forth his views on moral conduct and Church order, believing them to represent the mind of the Apostles. But at the same time such a document cannot but reflect fairly well the beliefs and usages of the writer's age and country. A further caution is likewise needed. It does not profess to be complete. Its desultory character is apparent, for instance, in the description of the Eucharistic service, which is plainly fragmentary. We cannot therefore safely draw inferences from its silence. This remark applies especially to doctrine, of which it says next to nothing. Observing these cautions, we interrogate it with regard to the New Testament writings. And here the answer is unexpectedly full. The writer quotes large portions of St. Matthew. The Lord's Prayer is given at length; numerous sayings from the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere are introduced; the baptismal formula is quoted. Occasionally also we come across echoes of the characteristic language of St. Luke, as for instance, "What thank have ye, if ye love them that love you" (c. 1), and again "Let not your lamps be quenched nor your loins ungirt, but be ready, for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh" (c. 16). On the other hand the coincidences with St. John are less close. The writer speaks of "the holy vine of David"; he uses the

expression "perfect in love"; and in a third passage his language is the echo of an injunction in St. John's Second Epistle. These however, though indicating a sympathy with St. John's modes of thought, are not decisive as to a knowledge of his writings. Nor indeed if we are right in assigning a very early date to this document, are we justified in expecting such knowledge. With St. Paul's Epistles again the writer shows an acquaintance. Coincidences with four of these—Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 2 Thessalonians—indicate a free use of the Apostle's writings. We likewise meet with the precept, "Abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts," which seems to be taken from 1 Peter ii. 11, but may possibly be independent. The testimony however is not confined to the passages actually quoted. The prominence given here, as in the epitaph of Abercius, to the two Sacraments, to these and these only, is the proper sequel to the Lord's parting commands as related in the Gospels. The picture of the Christian ministry again is the continuation of the state of things represented in St. Paul's Epistles. Remembering that the whole work occupies only a little more than six octavo pages, we are surprised at the amount of testimony—certainly much more than we had any right to expect—which it bears to the canon of the New Testament. Moreover, its evidence has a negative value also. In his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Dr. Westcott has brought together all the traditional sayings of Christ, and the result shows how very little was reported in the early ages outside the canonical Gospels. This result is confirmed by the document before us. It contains indeed one quotation of which the source is not known, a prudential maxim of almsgiving introduced with the words, "It has been said"; but we have no ground for supposing this to be given as a saying of Christ. All the evangelical matter, so far as we can trace it, is found within the four corners of our canonical Gospels.

These are the gleanings—neither meagre nor unimportant I venture to think—which a single year has yielded in this portion of our field.

J. B. DUNELM.

The inscription of Abercius may be restored with tolerable confidence, by the use of this threefold help ; (1) The text in the Metaphrast's *Life of Abercius*. (2) The fragments on the stone itself. (3) The imitation of it on the tomb of one Alexander (A.D. 216) discovered likewise by Mr. Ramsay at Hieropolis. It will run as follows :—

Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολίτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
 ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω καιρῷ σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.
 οὔνομ' Ἀβέρκιος· εἰμι μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ,
 ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε,
 5 ὀφθαλμοῦς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορῶντας·
 οὔτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε...γράμματα πιστά·
 εἰς Ῥώμην ὃς ἔπεμψεν ἐμὲν βασίλῃαν ἀθῆσαι
 καὶ βασιλίccαν ἰδεῖν χρυσοστόλον χρυσοπέδιλον.
 λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγεῖδαν ἔχοντα·
 10 καὶ Σύριος πέδον εἶδα καὶ ἄστεα πάντα, Νίσιβιν,
 Εὔφράτην διαβάς· πάντη δ' ἔσχον κυνομίλους·
 Παῦλον ἔχων ἐπό[μην], πίστις παντὶ δέ προήγε,
 καὶ παρέθηκε τροφήν πάντη ἰχθῦν ἀπὸ πηγῆς
 πανμεγέθου, καθαρὸν, ὃν ἐδράζατο παρθένος ἀγνή·
 15 καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἐσθεῖν διὰ παντός,
 οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα διδοῖσα μετ' ἄρτου.
 ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὧδε γραφῆναι·
 ἑβδομήκοντον ἔτος καὶ δεῦτερον ἦγον ἀληθῶς.
 ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὔζαιτο ὑπὲρ μοῦ πάς ὁ κυνωδός.
 20 οἱ μέντοι τῷμβιρ τις ἐμῷ ἑτερον ἐπιθήσει·
 εἰ δ' οὔν, Ῥωμαίων ταμεῖρ θήσει διςχίλια χρυσᾶ,
 καὶ χρυστῇ πατρὶδι Ἱεροπόλει χίλια χρυσᾶ.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

I.

THE WRITER AND THE READERS.

"Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and Timothy our brother, to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colossæ : Grace to you and peace from God our Father."—COL. i. 1, 2 (Rev. Ver.).

WE may say that each of Paul's greater epistles has in it one salient thought. In that to the Romans, it is Justification by faith; in Ephesians, it is the mystical union of Christ and His Church; in Philippians, it is the joy of Christian progress; in this epistle, it is the dignity and sole sufficiency of Jesus Christ as the mediator and head of all creation and of the Church.

Such a thought is emphatically a lesson for the day.

The Christ whom the world needs to have proclaimed in every deaf ear and lifted up before blind and reluctant eyes, is not merely the perfect man, nor only the meek sufferer, but the Source of creation and its Lord, who from the beginning has been the life of all that has lived, and before the beginning was in the bosom of the Father. The shallow and starved religion which contents itself with mere humanitarian conceptions of Jesus of Nazareth needs to be deepened and filled out by these lofty truths before it can acquire solidity and steadfastness sufficient to be the unmoved foundation of sinful and mortal lives. The evangelistic teaching which concentrates exclusive attention on the cross as "the work of Christ," needs to be led to the contemplation of them, in order to understand the cross, and to have its mystery as well as its meaning declared. This letter itself dwells upon two applications of its principles to two classes of error which, in somewhat changed forms, exist now as then—the error of the ceremonialist, to whom religion was mainly a matter of ritual, and the error of the speculative thinker,

to whom the universe was filled with forces, which left no room for the working of a personal Will. The vision of the living Christ who fills all things, is held up before each of these two, as the antidote to his poison ; and that same vision must be made clear to-day to the modern representatives of these ancient errors. If we are able to grasp with heart and mind the principles of this epistle for ourselves, we shall stand at the centre of things, seeing order where from any other position confusion only is apparent, and being at the point of rest instead of being hurried along by the wild whirl of conflicting opinions.

I desire, therefore, to present the teachings of this great epistle in a series of expositions.

Before advancing to the consideration of these verses, we must deal with one or two introductory matters, so as to get the frame and the background for the picture.

(1) First, as to the Church of Colossæ to which the letter is addressed.

Perhaps too much has been made of late years of geographical and topographical elucidations of Paul's epistles. A knowledge of the place to which a letter was sent cannot do much to help in understanding the letter, for local circumstances leave very faint traces, if any, on the Apostle's writings. Here and there an allusion may be detected, or a metaphor may gain in point by such knowledge ; but, for the most part, local colouring is entirely absent. Some slight indication, however, of the situation and circumstances of the Colossian Church may help to give vividness to our conceptions of the little community to whom this rich treasure of truth was first entrusted.

Colossæ was a town in the heart of the modern Asia Minor, much decayed in Paul's time from its earlier importance. It lay in a valley of Phrygia, on the banks of a small stream, the Lycus, down the course of which, at a distance of some ten miles or so, two very much more im-

portant cities fronted each other, Hierapolis on the north, and Laodicea on the south bank of the river. In all three cities were Christian Churches, as we know from this letter, one of which has attained the bad eminence of having become the type of tepid religion for all the world. How strange to think of the tiny community in a remote valley of Asia Minor, eighteen centuries since, thus gibbeted for ever! These stray beams of light which fall upon the people in the New Testament, showing them fixed for ever in one attitude, like a lightning flash in the darkness, are solemn precursors of the last Apocalypse, when all men shall be revealed in "the brightness of His coming."

Paul does not seem to have been the founder of these Churches, or ever to have visited them at the date of this letter. That opinion is based on several of its characteristics, such, for instance, as the absence of any of those kindly greetings to individuals which in the Apostle's other letters are so abundant, and reveal at once the warmth and the delicacy of his affection; and the allusions which occur more than once to his having only "*heard*" of their faith and love, and is strongly supported by the expression in the second chapter where he speaks of the conflict in spirit which he had for "you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." Probably the teacher who planted the gospel in Colossæ was that Epaphras, whose visit to Rome occasioned the letter, and who is referred to in verse 7 of this chapter in terms which seem to suggest that he had first made known to them the fruit-producing "word of the truth of the gospel."

(2) As to the occasion and subject of the letter. Paul is a prisoner, in a certain sense, in Rome; but the word prisoner conveys a false impression of the amount of restriction of his personal liberty to which he was subjected. We know from the last words of the Acts of the Apostles,

and from the Epistle to the Philippians, that his "imprisonment" did not in the least interfere with his liberty of preaching, nor with his intercourse with friends. Rather, in the view of the facilities it gave that by him "the preaching might be fully known," it may be regarded, as indeed the writer of the Acts seems to regard it, as the very climax and topstone of Paul's work, wherewith his history may fitly end, leaving the champion of the Gospel at the very heart of the world, with unhindered liberty to proclaim his message by the very throne of Cæsar. He was sheltered rather than confined beneath the wing of the imperial eagle. His imprisonment, as we call it, was, at all events at first, detention in Rome under military supervision rather than incarceration. So to his lodgings in Rome there comes a brother from this decaying little town in the far-off valley of the Lycus, Epaphras by name. Whether his errand was exclusively to consult Paul about the state of the Colossian Church, or whether some other business also had brought him to Rome, we do not know; at all events, he comes and brings with him bad news, which burdens Paul's heart with solicitude for the little community, which had no remembrances of his own authoritative teaching to fall back upon. Many a night would he and Epaphras spend in deep converse on the matter, with the stolid Roman legionary, to whom Paul was chained, sitting wearily by, while they two eagerly talked.

The tidings were that a strange disease, hatched in that hotbed of religious fancies, the dreamy East, was threatening the faith of the Colossian Christians. A peculiar form of heresy, strangely compounded of Jewish ritualism and Oriental mysticism—two elements as hard to blend in the foundation of a system as the heterogeneous iron and clay on which the image in the prophet's dream stood unstably—had appeared among them, and though at present confined to a few, was being vigorously preached. The

characteristic Eastern dogma, that matter is evil and the source of evil, which underlies so much Oriental religion, and crept in so early to corrupt Christianity, and crops up to-day in so many strange places and unexpected ways, had begun to infect them. The conclusion was quickly drawn : " Well, then, if matter be the source of all evil, then, of course, God and matter must be antagonistic," and so the creation and government of this material universe could not be supposed to have come directly from Him. The endeavour to keep the pure Divinity and the gross world as far apart as possible, while yet an intellectual necessity forbade the entire breaking of the bond between them, led to the busy working of the imagination, which arched over the void gulf between God who is good, and matter which is evil, with a bridge of cobwebs—a chain of intermediate beings, emanations, abstractions, each approaching more nearly to the material than his precursor, till at last the intangible and infinite was confined and curdled into actual earthly matter, and the pure was darkened thereby into evil.

Such notions, fantastic and remote from daily life as they look, really led by a very short cut to making wild work with the plainest moral teachings both of the natural conscience and of Christianity. For if matter be the source of all evil, then the fountain of each man's sin is to be found, not in his own perverted will, but in his body, and the cure of it is to be reached, not by faith which plants a new life in a sinful spirit, but simply by ascetic mortification of the flesh.

Strangely united with these mystical Eastern teachings, which might so easily be perverted to the coarsest sensuality, and had their heads in the clouds and their feet in the mud, were the narrowest doctrines of Jewish ritualism, insisting on circumcision, laws regulating food, the observance of feast days, and the whole cumbrous apparatus of

a ceremonial religion. It is a monstrous combination, a cross between a Talmudical rabbi and a Buddhist priest, and yet it is not unnatural that, after soaring in these lofty regions of speculation where the air is too thin to support life, men should be glad to get hold of the externals of an elaborate ritual. It is not the first nor the last time that a misplaced philosophical religion has got close to a religion of outward observances, to keep it from shivering itself to death. Extremes meet. If you go far enough east, you are west.

Such, generally speaking, was the error that was beginning to lift its head in Colossæ. Religious fanaticism was at home in that country, from which, both in heathen and in Christian times, wild rites and notions emanated, and the Apostle might well dread the effect of this new teaching, as of a spark on hay, on the excitable natures of the Colossian converts.

Now we may say, "What does all this matter to us? We are in no danger of being haunted by the ghosts of these dead heresies." But the truth which Paul opposed to them is all important for every age. It was simply the person of Christ as the only manifestation of the Divine, the link between God and the universe, its Creator and Preserver, the Light and Life of men, the Lord and Inspirer of the Church. Christ has come, laying His hand upon both God and man, therefore there is no need nor place for a misty crowd of angelic beings or shadowy abstractions to bridge the gulf across which His incarnation flings its single solid arch. Christ has been bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, therefore that cannot be the source of evil in which the fulness of the Godhead has dwelt as in a shrine. Christ has come, the fountain of life and holiness, therefore there is no more place for ascetic mortifications on the one hand, nor for Jewish scrupulosities on the other. These things might detract from the completeness of faith

in the complete redemption which Christ has wrought, and must becloud the truth that simple faith in it is all which a man needs.

To urge these and the like truths this letter is written. Its central principle is the sovereign and exclusive mediation of Jesus Christ, the God man, the victorious antagonist of these dead speculations, and the destined conqueror of all the doubts and confusions of this day. If we grasp with mind and heart that truth, we can possess our souls in patience, and in its light see light where else is darkness and uncertainty.

So much then for introduction, and now a few words of comment on the superscription of the letter contained in these verses.

I. Notice the blending of lowliness and authority in Paul's designation of himself. "An apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God."

He does not always bring his apostolic authority to mind at the beginning of his letters. In his earliest epistles, those to the Thessalonians, he has not yet adopted the practice. In the loving and joyous letter to the Philippians, he has no need to urge his authority, for no man among them ever gainsaid it. In that to Philemon, friendship is uppermost, and though, as he says, he might be much bold to enjoin, yet he prefers to beseech, and will not command as "apostle," but pleads as "the prisoner of Christ Jesus." In his other letters he put his authority in the foreground as here, and it may be noticed that it and its basis in the will of God are asserted with greatest emphasis in the Epistle to the Galatians, where he has to deal with more defiant opposition than elsewhere encountered him.

Here he puts forth his claim to the apostolate, in the highest sense of the word. He asserts his equality with the original Apostles, the chosen witnesses for the reality of

Christ's resurrection. He too had seen the risen Lord, and heard the words of His mouth. He shared with them the prerogative of certifying from personal experience that Jesus is risen and lives to bless and rule. Paul's whole Christianity was built on the belief that Jesus Christ had actually appeared to him. That vision on the road to Damascus revolutionised his life. Because he had seen his Lord and heard his duty from His lips, he had become what he was.

"By the will of God" is at once an assertion of Divine authority, a declaration of independence of all human teaching or appointment, and a most lowly disclaimer of individual merit, or personal power. Few religious teachers have had so strongly marked a character as Paul, or have so constantly brought their own experience into prominence; but the weight which he expected to be attached to his words was to be due entirely to their being the words which God spoke through him. If this opening clause were to be paraphrased it would be: I speak to you because God has sent me. I am not an Apostle by my own will, nor by my own merit. I am not worthy to be called an Apostle. I am a poor sinner like yourselves, and it is a miracle of love and mercy that God should put His words into such lips. But He does speak through me; my words are neither mine nor learned from any other man, but His. Never mind the cracked pipe through which the Divine breath makes music, but listen to the music.

So Paul thought of his message; so the uncompromising assertion of authority united with deep humility. Do we come to his words, believing that we hear God speaking through Paul? Here is no formal doctrine of inspiration, but here is the claim to be the organ of the Divine will and mind, to which we ought to listen as indeed the voice of God.

The gracious humility of the man is further seen in his

association with himself, as joint senders of the letters, of his young brother Timothy, who has no apostolic authority, but whose concurrence in its teaching might give it some additional weight. For the first few verses he remembers to speak in the plural, as in the name of both—"we give thanks," "Epaphras declared to *us* your love," and so on; but in the fiery sweep of his thoughts Timothy is soon left out of sight, and Paul alone pours out the wealth of his Divine wisdom and the warmth of his fervid heart.

II. We may observe the noble ideal of the Christian character set forth in the designations of the Colossian Church, as "saints and faithful brethren in Christ."

In his earlier letters Paul addresses himself to "the Church"; in his later, beginning with the Epistle to the Romans, and including the three great epistles from his captivity, namely Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, he drops the word Church, and uses expressions which regard the individuals composing the community rather than the community which they compose. The slight change thus indicated in the Apostle's point of view is interesting, however it may be accounted for. There is no reason to suppose it done of set purpose, and certainly it did not arise from any lowered estimate of the sacredness of "the Church," which is nowhere put on higher ground than in the letter to Ephesus, which belongs to the later period; but it may be that advancing years and familiarity with his work, with his position of authority, and with his auditors, all tended to draw him closer to them, and insensibly led to the disuse of the more formal and official address, to "the Church," in favour of the simpler and more affectionate superscription, to "the brethren."

Be that as it may, the lessons to be drawn from the names here given to the members of the Church are the more important matter for us. It would be interesting and profitable to examine the meaning of all the New Testa-

ment names for believers, and to learn the lessons which they teach; but we must for the present confine ourselves to those which occur here.

“Saints”—a word that has been woefully misapplied both by the Church and the world. The former has given it as a special honour to a few, and “decorated” with it mainly the possessors of a false ideal of sanctity—that of the ascetic and monastic sort. The latter uses it with a sarcastic intonation, as if it implied much cry and little wool, loud professions and small performance, not without a touch of hypocrisy and crafty self-seeking.

Saints are not people living in cloisters after a fantastic ideal, but men and women immersed in the vulgar work of everyday life and worried by the small prosaic anxieties which fret us all, who amidst the whirr of the spindle in the mill, and the clink of the scales on the counter, and the hubbub of the market-place and the jangle of the courts are yet living lives of conscious devotion to God. The root idea of the word, which is an Old Testament word, is not moral purity, but separation to God. The holy things of the old covenant were things set apart from ordinary use for His service. So, on the high priest’s mitre was written Holiness to the Lord. So the Sabbath was kept “holy,” because set apart from the week in obedience to Divine command.

Sanctity, and *saint* are used now mainly with the idea of moral purity, but that is a secondary meaning. The real primary signification is separation to God. Consecration to Him is the root from which the white flower of purity springs most surely. There is a deep lesson in the word as to the true method of attaining cleanness of life and spirit. We cannot make ourselves pure, but we can yield ourselves to God, and the purity will come.

But we have not only here the fundamental idea of holiness, and the connexion of purity of character with self-

consecration to God, but also the solemn obligation on all so-called Christians thus to separate and devote themselves to Him. We are Christians as far as we give ourselves up to God, in the surrender of our will and the practical obedience of our lives—so far and not one inch further. We are not merely bound to this consecration if we are Christians, but we are not Christians unless we thus consecrate ourselves. Pleasing self, and making my own will my law, and living for my own ends, is destructive of all Christianity. Saints are not an eminent sort of Christians, but all Christians are saints, and he who is not a saint is not a Christian. The true consecration is the surrender of the will, which no man can do for us, which needs no outward ceremonial, and the one motive which will lead us selfish and stubborn men to bow our necks to that gentle yoke, and to come out of the misery of pleasing self into the peace of serving God, is drawn from the great love of Him who devoted Himself to God and man, and bought us for His own by giving Himself utterly to be ours. All sanctity begins with consecration to God. All consecration rests upon the faith of Christ's sacrifice. And if, drawn by the great love of Christ to us unworthy, we give ourselves away to God in Him, then He gives Himself in deep sacred communion to us. "I am Thine" has ever for its chord which complete the fulness of its music, "Thou art mine." And so "saint" is a name of dignity and honour, as well as a stringent requirement. There is implied in it, too, safety from all that would threaten life or union with Him. He will not hold His possessions with a slack hand that negligently lets them drop, or with a feeble hand that cannot keep them from a foe. "Thou wilt not suffer him who is consecrated to Thee to see corruption." If I belong to God, having given myself to Him, then I am safe from the touch of evil and the taint of decay. "The Lord's portion is His people," and He will

not lose even so worthless a part of that portion as I am. The great name "saints" carries with it the prophecy of victory over all evil, and the assurance that nothing can separate us from the love of God, or pluck us from His hand.

But these Colossian Christians are "faithful" as well as saints. That may either mean *trustworthy* and *true* to their stewardship, or *trusting*. In the parallel verses in the Epistle to the Ephesians (which presents so many resemblances to this epistle) the latter meaning seems to be required, and here it is certainly the more natural, as pointing to the very foundation of all Christian consecration and brotherhood in the act of believing. We are united to Christ by our faith. The Church is a family of faithful, that is to say of believing, men. Faith underlies consecration and is the parent of holiness, for he only will yield himself to God who trustfully grasps the mercies of God and rests on Christ's great gift of Himself. Faith weaves the bond that unites men in the brotherhood of the Church, for it brings all who share it into a common relation to the Father. He who is faithful, that is, believing, will be faithful in the sense of being worthy of confidence and true to his duty, his profession and his Lord.

They were *brethren* too. That strong new bond of union among men the most unlike, was a strange phenomenon in Paul's time, when the Roman world was falling to pieces, and rent by deep clefts of hatreds and jealousies such as modern society scarcely knows; and men might well wonder as they saw the slave and his master sitting at the same table, the Greek and the barbarian learning the same wisdom in the same tongue, the Jew and the Gentile bowing the knee in the same worship, and the hearts of all fused into one great glow of helpful sympathy and unselfish love.

But "brethren" means more than this. It points not

merely to Christian love, but to the common possession of a new life. If we are brethren, it is because we have one Father, because in us all there is one life. The name is often regarded as sentimental and metaphorical. The obligation of mutual love is supposed to be the main idea in it, and there is a melancholy hollowness and unreality in the very sound of it as applied to the usual average Christians of to-day. But the name leads straight to the doctrine of regeneration, and proclaims that all Christians are born again through their faith in Jesus Christ, and thereby partake of a common new life, which makes all its possessors children of the Highest, and therefore brethren one of another. If regarded as an expression of the affection of Christians for one another, "brethren" is an exaggeration, ludicrous or tragic, as we view it; but if we regard it as the expression of the real bond which gathers all believers into one family, it declares the deepest mystery and mightiest privilege of the gospel that "to as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the Sons of God."

They are "in Christ." These two words may apply to all the designations or to the last only. They are saints in Him, believers in Him, brethren in Him. That mystical but most real union of Christians with their Lord is never far away from the Apostle's thoughts, and in the twin Epistle to the Ephesians is the very burden of the whole. A shallower Christianity tries to weaken that great phrase to something more intelligible to the unspiritual temper and poverty-stricken experience proper to it; but no justice can be done to Paul's teaching unless it be taken in all its depth as expressive of that same mutual indwelling and interlacing of spirit with spirit which is so prominent in the writings of the Apostle John. *There* is one point of contact between the Pauline and the Johannean conceptions, on the differences between which so much exaggeration has been expended: to both the inmost essence of the Christian life

is union to Christ, and abiding in Him. If we are Christians, we are in Him, in yet profounder sense than creation lives and moves and has its being in God. We are in Him as the earth with all its living things is in the atmosphere, as the branch is in the vine, as the members are in the body. We are in Him as inhabitants in a house, as hearts that love in hearts that love, as parts in the whole. If we are Christians, He is in us, as life in every vein, as the fruit-producing sap and energy of the vine is in every branch, as the air in every lung, as the sunlight in every planet.

This is the deepest mystery of the Christian life. To be "in Him" is to be complete. "In Him" we are "blessed with all spiritual blessings." "In Him," we are "chosen." "In Him," God "freely bestows His grace upon us." "In Him" we "have redemption through His blood." "In Him" "all things in heaven and earth are gathered." "In Him we have obtained an inheritance." In Him is the better life of all who live. In Him we have peace though the world be seething with change and storm. In Him we conquer though earth and our own evil be all in arms against us. If we live in Him, we live in purity and joy. If we die in Him, we die in tranquil trust. If our grave-stones may truly carry the sweet old inscription carved on so many a nameless slab in the catacombs, "In Christo," they will also bear the other "In pace" (In peace). If we sleep in Him, our glory is assured, for them also that sleep in Jesus, will God bring with Him.

III. A word or two only can be devoted to the last clause of salutation, the Apostolic wish, which sets forth the high ideal to be desired for Churches and individuals: "Grace be unto you and peace from God our Father." The Authorized Version reads, "and the Lord Jesus Christ," but the Revised Version follows the majority of recent text-critics and their principal authorities in omitting these words, which they suppose to have been imported

into our passage from the parallel place in Ephesians. The omission of the familiar words which occur so uniformly in the similar introductory salutations of Paul's other epistles, is especially singular here where the main subject of the letter is the office of Christ as channel of all blessings. Perhaps the previous word, "brethren" was lingering in his mind, and so instinctively he stopped with the kindred word "Father."

"Grace and peace"—Paul's wishes for those whom he loves, and the blessings which he expects every Christian to possess, blend the Western and the Eastern forms of salutation, and surpass both. All that the Greek meant by his "Grace," all that the Hebrew meant by his "Peace," the ideally happy condition which differing nations have placed in different blessings, and which all loving words have vainly wished for dear ones, is secured and conveyed to every poor soul that trusts in Christ.

"Grace"—what is that? The word means first—love in exercise to those who are below the lover, or who deserve something else, stooping love that condescends, and patient love that forgives. Then it means the gifts which such love bestows, and then it means the effects of these gifts in the beauties of character and conduct developed in the receivers. So there are here invoked, or we may call it, proffered and promised, to every believing heart, the love and gentleness of that Father whose love to us sinful atoms is a miracle of lowliness and long-suffering, and the outcome of that love which never visits the soul emptyhanded, in all varied spiritual gifts, to strengthen weakness, to enlighten ignorance, to fill the whole being, and as last result of all, every beauty of mind, heart, and temper which can adorn the character, and refine a man into the likeness of God. That great gift will come in continuous bestowment if we are "saints in Christ. Of His fulness we all receive an grace for grace, wave upon wave as the ripples press

shoreward and each in turn pours its tribute on the beach, or as pulsation after pulsation makes one golden beam of unbroken light, strong winged enough to come all the way from the sun, gentle enough to fall on the sensitive eyeball without pain. That one beam will decompose into all colours and brightnesses. That one "grace" will part into sevenfold gifts and be the life in us of whatsoever things are lovely and of good report.

"Peace be unto you." That old greeting, the witness of a state of society when every stranger seen across the desert was probably an enemy, is also a witness to the deep unrest of the heart. It is well to learn the lesson that peace comes after grace, that for tranquillity of soul we must go to God, and that He gives it by giving us His love and its gifts, of which, and of which only, peace is the result. If we have that grace for ours, as we all may if we will, we shall be still, because our desires are satisfied and all our needs met. To seek is unnecessary when we are conscious of possessing. We may end our weary quest, like the dove when it had found the green leaf, though little dry land may be seen as yet, and fold our wings and rest by the cross. We may be lapped in calm repose, even in the midst of toil and strife, like John resting on the heart of his Lord. There must be first of all, peace *with* God, that there may be peace from God. Then, when we have been won from our alienation and enmity by the power of the cross, and have learned to know that God is our Lover, Friend and Father, we shall possess the peace of those whose hearts have found their home, the peace of spirits no longer at war within—conscience and choice tearing them asunder in their strife, the peace of obedience which banishes the disturbance of self-will, the peace of security shaken by no fears, the peace of a sure future across the brightness of which no shadows of sorrow nor mists of uncertainty can fall, the peace of a heart in amity with all mankind. So

living in peace, we shall lay ourselves down and die in peace, and enter into "that country, afar beyond the stars," where "grows the flower of peace."

"The Rose that cannot wither"

"Thy fortress and thy ease."

All this may be ours. Paul could only wish it for these Colossians. We can only long for it for our dearest. No man can fulfil his wishes or turn them into actual gifts. Many precious things we can give, but not peace. But our brother, Jesus Christ, can do more than wish it. He can bestow it, and when we need it most, He stands ever beside us, in our weakness and unrest, with His strong arm stretched out to help, and on His calm lips the old words—"My grace is sufficient for thee," "My peace I give unto you."

Let us keep ourselves in Him, believing in Him and yielding ourselves to God for His dear sake, and we shall find His grace ever flowing into our emptiness and His settled "peace keeping our hearts and minds in Christ Jesus."

A. MACLAREN.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENCE TO CHRISTIANITY.

THERE is nothing more inspiring just now to the religious mind than the expansion of the intellectual area of Christianity. Christianity seemed for a time to have ceased to adapt itself to the widening range of secular knowledge, and the thinking world had almost left its side. But the expansion of Christianity can never be altogether contemporaneous with the growth of knowledge. For new truth must be solidified by time before it can be built into the eternal truth of the Christian system. Yet, sooner or

later, the conquest comes ; sooner or later, whether it be art or music, history or philosophy, Christianity utilises the best that the world finds, and gives it a niche in the temple of God.

To the student of God's ways, who reverently marks His progressive revelation and scans the horizon for each new fulfilment, the field of science presents just now a spectacle of bewildering interest. To say that he regards it with expectation is feebly to realize the dignity and import of the time. He looks at science with awe. It is the thing that is moving, unfolding. It is the breaking of a fresh seal. It is the new chapter of the world's history. What it contains for Christianity, or against it, he knows not. What it will do, or undo—for in the fulfilling it may undo—he cannot tell. The plot is just at its thickest as he opens the page ; the problems are more in number and more intricate than they have ever been before, and he waits almost with excitement for the next development.

And yet this attitude of Christianity towards science is as free from false hope as it is from false fear. It has no false fear, for it knows the strange fact that this plot is always at its thickest ; and its hope of a quick solution is without extravagance, for it has learned the slowness of God's unfolding and His patient tempering of revelation to the young world which has to bear the strain. But for all this, we cannot open this new and closely written page as if it had little to give us. With nature as God's work ; with man, God's finest instrument, as its investigator ; with a multitude of the finest of these finest instruments, in laboratory, field, and study, hourly engaged upon this book, exploring, deciphering, sifting, and verifying—it is impossible that there should not be a solid, original, and ever-increasing gain. Add to this man's known wish to know more, and God's wish that he should know more—for nature is fuller of nothing than of invitations to learn—and

we shall see how true it is that nature has but to be asked, to give her best.

The one thing to be careful about in approaching nature is, that we really come to be taught; and the same attitude is honourably due to its interpreter, science. Religion is probably only learning for the first time how to approach science. Their former intercourse, from faults on both sides, and these mainly due to juvenility, is not a thing to remember. After the first quarrel—for they began the centuries hand in hand—the question of religion to science was simply, “How dare you speak at all?” Then as science held to its right to speak just a little, the question became, “What new menace to our creed does your latest discovery portend?” By-and-by both became wiser, and the coarser conflict ceased. Then we find religion suggesting a compromise, and asking simply what particular adjustment to its last hypothesis science would demand. But we do not speak now of the right to be heard, or of menaces to our faith, or even of compromises. Our question is a much maturer one—we ask what *contribution* science has to bestow, what good gift the wise men are bringing now to lay at the feet of our Christ. This question marks an immense advance in the relation between science and Christianity, and we should be careful to sustain it. Nothing is more easily thrown out of working order than the balance between different spheres of thought. The least assumption of superiority on the part of one, the least hint of a challenge, even a suggestion of independence, may provoke a quarrel. In one sense religion is independent of science, but in another it is not. For science is not independent of religion, and religion dare not leave it. One notices sometimes a disposition in religious writers, not only to make light of the claims of science, to smile at its attempts to help them, to despise its patronage, but even to taunt it with its impotence to touch the higher problems

of life and being at all. Now science has feelings. This impotence is a fact, but it is the limitation simply of its function in the scheme of thought ; and to taunt it with its insufficiency to perform other functions is a vulgar way to make it jealous of that which does perform them. We live in an intellectual commune, and owe too much to each other to reflect on a neighbour's poverty, even when it puts on appearances.

The result of the modern systematic study of nature has been to raise up in our midst a body of truth with almost unique claims to acceptance. The grounds of this acceptance are laid bare to all the world. There is nothing esoteric about science. It has no secrets. Its facts can be seen and handled : they are facts ; they are nature itself. Apart therefore from their attractiveness or utility, men feel that here at last they have something to believe in, something independent of opinion, prejudice, self-interest, or tradition. This feeling is a splendid testimony to man as well as to nature. And we do not grudge to science the vigour and devotion of its students, for, like all true devotion, it is founded on an intense faith. Now the mere presence of this body of truth, so solid, so transparent, so verifiable, immediately affects all else that lies in the field of knowledge. And it affects it in different ways. Some things it scatters to the winds at once. They have been the birthright of mankind for ages it may be ; their venerableness matters not, they must go. And the power of the new comer is so self-evident that they require no telling, but disappear of themselves. In this way the modern world has been rid of a hundred superstitions.

Among other things which have been brought to this bar is Christianity. It knows it can approve itself to science ; but it is taken by surprise, and therefore begs time. It will honestly look up its credentials and adjust itself, if necessary, to the new relation. Now this is the position

of theology at the present moment. The purification of religion, Herbert Spencer tells us, has always come from science. In this case it is largely true. And theology proceeds by asking science what it demands, and then borrows its instruments to carry out the improvements. This loan of the instruments constitutes the first great contribution of science to religion.

What are these instruments? We shall name two—the Scientific Method and the Doctrine of Evolution. The first is the instrument for the interpretation of Nature; the second is given us as the method of Nature itself. With the first of these we shall deal formally; the second will present itself in various shapes as we proceed.

In emphasizing the scientific method as a contribution from science to Christianity, it is not to be understood that science has an exclusive, or even a prior claim, either to its discovery or possession. Along with the germs of all great things, it is found in the Bible; and theologians all along have fallen into its vein at times, though they have seldom pursued it long or with entire abandonment. There are examples of work done in modern theology, German and English, by the use of this method, which for the purity, consistency, and reverence with which it is applied are not surpassed by anything that physical science has produced. At the same time, this is *par excellence* the method of science. The perfecting of the instrument, the most lucid exhibition of its powers, the education in its use, above all the intellectual revolution which has compelled its application in every field of knowledge, we owe to natural science. Theology has had its share in this great movement, how much we need not ask, or seek to prove. The day is past for quarrelling over rights of discovery; and whether we owe the scientific method to Job and Paul, or to Bacon and Darwin, is just the kind of question which the possession of this instrument would warn us not to touch.

To see what the scientific method has done for Christianity, we have only to ask ourselves what it is. The things which it insists upon are mainly two—the value of facts, and the value of laws. From the first of these comes the integrity of science; from the second its beauty and force. On bare facts science from first to last is based. Bacon's contribution to science was simply that he vindicated the place and power, the eternal worth, of facts; Darwin's, that he supplied it with facts. Now if Christianity possesses anything it possesses facts. So long as the facts were presented to the world Christianity spread with marvellous rapidity. But there came a time when the facts were less exhibited to men than the evidence for the facts. Theology, that is to say, began to rest on authority. Men or manuscripts were quoted as authorities for these facts, always with a loss of impressiveness, a loss increasing rapidly as time distanced the facts themselves. Then as the facts became more and more remote the Churches became the authorities rather than individual witnesses, and this was accompanied by a still further loss of power. And the surest proof of the waning influence of the facts themselves, and the extent of the loss incurred by the transfer of their credential to authority, is found in the appeal, which quickly followed, to the secular arm. The facts, ceasing to be their own warrant, had to be enforced by the establishment of judicial relations between Church and State. It is these intermediaries between the facts and the modern observer that stumble science. Its method is not to deal with persons however exalted, nor with creeds however admirable, nor with Churches however venerable. It will look at facts and at facts alone. The dangers, the weakness, the unpracticableness in some cases of this method, are well known. Nevertheless it is a right method. It is the method of all reformation; it was the method of the Reformation. The Reformation was largely a revolt

against intermediaries, an appeal to facts. Now Christianity is learning from science to go back to its facts, and it is going back to facts. Critics in every tongue are engaged upon the facts; travellers in every land are unveiling facts; exegetes are at work upon the words, scholars upon the manuscripts; sceptics, believing and unbelieving, are eliminating the not-facts; and the whole field is alive with workers. And the point to mark is that these men are not manipulating, but verifying, facts.

There is one portion of this field of facts, however, which is still strangely neglected, and to which a scientific theology may turn its next attention. The evidence for Christianity is not the Evidences. The evidence for Christianity is a *Christian*. The unit of physics is the atom, of biology the cell, of philosophy the man, of theology the Christian. The natural man, his regeneration by the Holy Spirit, the spiritual man and his relations to the world and to God, these are the modern facts for a scientific theology. We may indeed talk with science on its own terms about the creation of the world, and the spirituality of nature, and the force behind nature, and the unseen universe; but our language is not less scientific, not less justified by fact, when we speak of the work of the risen Christ, and the contemporary activities of the Holy Ghost, and the facts of regeneration, and the powers which are freeing men from sin. There is a great experiment which is repeated every day, the evidence for which is as accessible as for any fact of science; its phenomena are as palpable as any in nature; its processes are as explicable, or as inexplicable; its purpose is as clear; and yet science has never been seriously asked to reckon with it, nor has theology ever granted it the place its impressive reality commands. One aim of a scientific theology will be to study *conversion*, and restore to Christianity its most powerful witness. When men, by mere absorption in the present, refuse to consider history,

or from traditional prejudice take refuge in the untrustworthiness of the records, it is unwise to refer, in the first place at least, to phenomena which are centuries old, when we have the same among us now.

But not less essential, in the scientific method, than the examination of facts is the arrangement of them under laws. And the work of modern science in this direction has resulted in its grandest achievement—the demonstration of the uniformity of nature. This doctrine must have an immediate effect upon the entire system of theology. For one thing, the contribution of the spiritual world to the uniformity of nature has yet to be made. Not that the natural world is to include the spiritual, but that a higher natural will be seen to include both. It cannot be said that Christianity as arranged by theology at present is highly natural, nor can it be said to be unnatural. In that relation it is simply neutral. The question of naturalness or the reverse is one which has not hitherto at all concerned it. There was no call upon theology to make its presentation of itself with a view to nature, and therefore, if that is an advisable thing, or a feasible thing, it has yet, on the large scale at least, to be attempted. In the natural world, the truth of the uniformity of nature took a long time to grow. No one in the first instance set himself to establish it. Innumerable workers in innumerable fields, engaged upon different classes of facts, found a mysterious brotherhood of common laws. Again and again, and everywhere again and again, the same familiar lines confronted them, few, simple, and unchangeable, yet each with a vanishing trend towards an upward point, hidden as yet in mystery. These workers did not formally consult together about these laws, or seek to follow them beyond the line of sight. Nor did they try to find a name for the hidden point to which all converged. But there grew up amongst them a sense of symmetry in the whole which found expression in the

formula, which is now the postulate of science—the “uniformity of nature.” In the same way, probably, shall we one day see disclosed the uniformity of the spiritual world. The earlier work had to be accomplished first, the scaffolding for the inner temple; but when the whole is finished there will be nothing in the spiritual world to put the mind of science to confusion. The laws of both as they radiate upwards will meet in a common cupola, and between the outer and the inner courts the priests of nature and the priests of God will go in and out together.

There may be laws, or actings, in the spiritual world, which it may seem to some impossible to include in such a scheme. God is not, in theology, a Creator merely, but a Father; and according to the counsel of His own will He may act in different cases in different ways. To which the reply is that this also is law. It is the law of the Father, the law of the paternal relation, the law of the free-will; yet not an exceptional law, it is the law of all fathers, of all free-wills. Besides, if in the private Christian life the child of God finds dealings which are not reducible to law, grant even their lawlessness if that be possible, that is a family matter, a relation of parent and child, similar to the earthly relation, and scarcely the kind of case to be referred to science. Into ordinary family relations science rarely feels called to intrude; and it is obvious that in dealing with this class of cases in the spiritual world, science is attempting a thing which in the natural world it leaves alone. If ethics chooses to take up these questions, it has more right to do so; but that there should be a reserve in the spiritual world for God acting towards His children in a way past finding out is what would be expected from the mere analogies of the family. It is a pity this distinction between the paternal and the governmental relation of God is not more apprehended by science; for there is an indelicacy about all these questions which arises from ignor-

ance of it—questions concerning prayer and natural law, “special providences,” and others—which is painful to devout people. It is not by any means that religion cannot afford to have these things talked of, but they are to be approached in privacy, with the sympathy and respect due to family affairs.

The relations of the spiritual man, however, are not all, or nearly all, in this department. There are whole classes of facts in the outer provinces which have yet to be examined and arranged under appropriate laws. The intellectual gain to Christianity of such a process will be obvious. But there is also a practical gain to the religious experience of not less moment. Science is nothing if not practical, and the scientific method has little for Christianity after all if it is not to exalt and enrich the lives of its followers. It is worth while, therefore, taking a single example of its practical value.

The sense of lawlessness which pervades the spiritual world at present re-acts in many subtle and injurious ways upon the personal experience of Christians. They gather the idea that things are managed differently there from anywhere else—less strictly, less consistently; that blessings or punishments are dispensed arbitrarily, and that everything is ordered rather by a Divine discretion than by a system of fixed principle. In this higher atmosphere ordinary sequences are not to be looked for—cause and effect are suspended or superseded. Accordingly, to descend to the particular, men pray for things which they are quite unable to receive, or altogether unwilling to pay the price for. They expect effects without touching the preliminary causes, and causes without calculating the tremendous nature of the effects. There is nothing more appalling than the wholesale way in which unthinking people plead to the Almighty the richest and most spiritual of His promises, and claim their immediate fulfilment, without

themselves fulfilling one of the conditions either on which they are promised or can possibly be given. If the Bible is closely looked into, it will probably be found that very many of the promises have attached to them a condition—itself not unfrequently the best part of the promise. True prayer for any promise is to plead for power to fulfil the condition on which it is offered, and which, being fulfilled, is in that act given. We have need, certainly in this sense, to know more of prayer and natural law. And science could make no truer contribution to modern Christianity than to enforce upon us all, as unweariedly as in nature, the law of causation in the spiritual life. The reason why so many people get nothing from prayer is that they expect effects without causes; and this also is the reason why they give it up. It is not irreligion that makes men give up prayer, but the uselessness of their prayers.

There is one other gain to Christianity to be expected from the wider use of the scientific method which may be mentioned in passing. Besides transforming it outwardly and reforming it inwardly, it must attract an ever-increasing band of workers to theology. There is a charm in working with a true method, which, once felt, becomes for ever irresistible. The activity in theology at the present time is almost limited, and the enthusiasm almost wholly limited, to those who are working with the scientific method. Round the islands of coral skeletons in the Pacific Ocean there is a belt of living coral. Each tiny polyp on this outermost fringe, and here only, secretes a solid substance from the invisible storehouse of the sea, and lays down its life in adding it to the advancing reef. So science and so theology grow. Through these workers on the fringing reef—behind, in contact with the great, solid, essential, formulated past; before, the profound sea of unknown truth—through these workers, and through

these alone, can knowledge grow. The phalanx of able, busy, and joyful spirits crowding the growing belt of each modern science—electricity, for example—may well excite the envy of theology. And it is the method that attracts them. And every day theology too, as it knows this method, gets busier,—not undermining the old reef, nor abandoning it to make a new one, but adding the living work of living men to this essential, formulated past.

We are warned sometimes that this method has dangers, and told not to carry it too far. It is then it becomes dangerous. The danger arises, not from the use of the scientific method, but from its use apart from the scientific spirit. For these two are not quite the same. Some men use the scientific method, but not in the scientific spirit. And as science can help Christianity with the former, Christianity may perhaps do something for science as regards the latter. Christianity is certainly wonderfully tolerant of all this upturning in theology, wonderfully generous and patient and hopeful upon the whole. And so just is the remark of "Natural Religion," that the true scientific spirit and the Christian spirit are one, that the Christian world is probably prepared to accept almost anything the most advanced theology brings, provided it be a joint product of the scientific method with the scientific spirit—the fearlessness and originality of the one, tempered by the modesty, caution, and reverence of the other.

To preserve this confidence, and to keep this spirit pure, is a sacred duty. There is an intellectual covetousness abroad just now which is neither the fruit nor the friend of a scientific age—a haste to be wise which, like the haste to be rich, leads men into speculation upon indifferent securities, and can only end in fallen fortunes. Theology must not be bound up with such speculation. "If"—to recall one of the fine outbursts of Bacon—"if there be

any humility towards the Creator, any reverence for or disposition to magnify His works, any charity for man and anxiety to relieve his sorrows and necessities, any love of truth in nature, any hatred of darkness, any desire for the purification of the understanding, we must entreat men again and again to discard, or at least set apart for the while, these volatile and preposterous philosophies which have preferred these to hypotheses, led experience captive, and triumphed over the works of God; and to approach with humility and veneration to unroll the volume of creation, to linger and meditate therein, and with minds washed clean from opinions to study it in purity and integrity. For this is that sound and language which 'went forth into all lands' and did not incur the confusion of Babel; this should men study to be perfect in, and becoming again as little children, condescend to take the alphabet of it into their hands, and spare no pains to search and unravel the interpretation thereof, but pursue it strenuously and persevere even unto death."¹ The one safeguard is to use the intellectual method in sympathetic association with the moral spirit. The scientific method may bring to light many fresh and revolutionary ideas; the scientific spirit will see that they are not given a place as dogmas in their first exuberance, that they are held with caution, and abandoned with generosity on sufficient evidence. The scientific method may secure many new and unique possessions; the scientific spirit will wear its honours humbly, knowing that after all new truth is less the product of genius than the daughter of time. And in its splendid progress the scientific method will find some old lights dim, some cherished doctrines old-fashioned, some venerable authorities superseded; the scientific spirit will be respectful to the past, checking that mockery at the old which those who lack it make

¹ *Works*, v. 132-3.

unthinkingly, and remembering that the day will come for its work also to pass away.

So much for the scientific method. Let us now consider for a moment one or two of its achievements. Apart from the usual reservations, which it is hoped are always implied—that science is only in its infancy, that the scientific method is almost still a novelty, that therefore we are not to expect too much nor to be absolutely sure of what we get—there is a special reason in this case for remembering that science is new. For this will prepare us to expect its contribution to theology—its contribution, that is, where the actual subject-matter of laws and discoveries of science are involved, its method—in one direction rather than in another, and in certain departments rather than others. Itself at an elementary stage, we should be wrong to look for any very pronounced contribution as yet to the higher truths of religion. We should expect the first effect among the elements of religion. We should expect science to be fairly decided in its utterances about them, to become more and more hesitating as it runs up the range of Christian doctrine, and gradually to lapse into silence. Proceeding upon this principle we should go back at once to Genesis. We should begin with the beginnings, and expect the first serious contribution to theology on the doctrine of creation.

And what do we find? We find that upon this subject of all others science has most to offer us. It comes to us not only freighted with vast treasures of newly noticed facts, but with a theory which by many thoughtful minds has been accepted as the method of creation. And, more than this, it tells us candidly it has failed—and the failures of science are among its richest contributions to Christianity—it has failed to discover any clue to the ultimate mystery of origins, any clue which can compete for a moment with the view of theology.

Consider first this impressive silence of science on the question of origins. Who creates, or evolves; whether do

the atoms come, or go? These questions remain as before. Science has not found a substitute for God. And yet, in another sense, these questions are very different from before. Science has put them through its crucible. It took them from theology, and deliberately proclaimed that it would try to answer them. They are now handed back, tried, unanswered, but with a new place in theology and a new power with science. Science has attained, after this ordeal, to a new respect for theology. If there are answers to these questions, and there ought to be, theology holds them. And theology likewise, has learned a new respect for science. In its investigations of these questions science has made a discovery. It has seen plainly that atheism is unscientific. It is a remarkable thing that after trailing its black length for centuries across European thought, atheism should have had its doom pronounced by science. With its most penetrating gaze science has now looked at the back of phenomena. It says "The atheist tells us there is nothing there. We cannot believe him. We cannot tell what it is, but there is certainly something. Agnostics we may be, we can no longer be atheists."

This permission to theism to go on, this invitation to Christianity to bring forward its theory to supplement science here, and give this something a name, is a great advance. And science has not left here a mere vague void for Christianity to fill, but a carefully defined niche with suggestions of the most striking kind as to how it is to be filled. It has never been sufficiently noticed how complete is the scientific account of a creative process, and how here biology and theology have actually touched. Watch a careful worker in science for a moment, and see how nearly a man by searching has found out God. The observer is Mr. Huxley. He stands looking down the tube of a powerful microscope. Almost touching the lens, he has placed a tiny speck of matter, which he tells us is the egg of a little water-

animal, the common salamander or water-newt. He is trying to describe what he sees; it is the creation or development of a life. "It is a minute spheroid," he says, "in which the best microscope will reveal nothing but a structureless sac, enclosing a glairy fluid, holding granules in suspension. But strange possibilities lie dormant in that semi-fluid globe. Let a moderate supply of warmth reach its watery cradle, and the plastic matter undergoes changes so rapid, and yet so *steady* and *purposelike* in their succession, that one can only compare them to those operated by a *skilled modeller* upon a formless lump of clay. As with an invisible trowel the mass is divided and sub-divided into smaller and smaller portions, until it is reduced to an aggregation of granules not too large to build withal the finest fabrics of the nascent organism. And then it is *as if a delicate finger* traced out the line to be occupied by the spinal column, and moulded the contour of the body; pinching up the head at one end, the tail at the other, and fashioning flank and limb into due salamandrine proportions in so artistic a way, that, after watching the process hour by hour, one is almost involuntarily possessed by the notion that *some more subtle aid to vision than an achromatic, would show the hidden artist with his plan before him, striving with skilful manipulation to perfect his work.*"¹ So near has this observer come to a creator from the purely scientific side, that he can only describe what he sees in terms of creation. From the natural side he has come within a hair's-breadth of the spiritual. Science and theology are here simply touching each other. There is not room really for another link between. And it will be apparent, on a moment's reflection, that we have much more in this than the final completion of a religious doctrine. What we really have is the joining of the natural and the spiritual worlds themselves. It seems such a long way, to

¹ *Lay Sermons*, p. 261. The italics are ours,

some men, from the natural to the spiritual, that it is a relief to witness at last their actual contact even at a point. And this is also a presumption that they are in unseen contact all along the line; that as we push all other truths to the last resort they will be met at the point where they disappear, that the complementary relations of religion and science will more and more be manifest; and that the unity, though never the fusion, of the natural and the spiritual will be finally disclosed.

When we turn now to the larger question of the creation of the world itself, we find much more than silence, or a permission to go on. We find science has a definite theory on that subject. It offers, in short, to theology, a doctrine of the method of creation, in its hypothesis of evolution. That this doctrine is proved yet, no one will assert. That in some of its forms it is never likely to be proved, many are convinced. It will be time for theology to be unanimous about it when science is unanimous about it. Yet it would be idle to deny that in a general form it has received the widest assent from theology. But if science is satisfied, even in a general way, with its theory of the method of creation, "assent" is a cold word for theology to welcome it with. It is needless at this time of day to point out the surpassing grandeur of the new conception. How it has filled the Christian imagination and kindled to enthusiasm the soberest scientific minds, is known to all. For that splendid hypothesis we cannot be too grateful to science, and that theology can only enrich itself which gives it even temporary place. There is a sublimity about the old doctrine of creation—we are speaking of its scientific aspects—which, if one could compare sublimities, is not surpassed by the new; but there is also a baldness. Fulfilments in this direction were sure to come with time, and they have come, almost before the riper mind had felt its need of them. The doctrine of evolution fills a gap at

the very beginning of our religion: and no one who looks now at the transcendent spectacle of the world's past, as disclosed by science, will deny that it has filled it worthily. Yet, after all, its beauty is not the only part of its contribution to Christianity. Scientific theology *required* a new view, though it did not require it to come in so magnificent a form. What it wanted was a credible presentation, in view especially of astronomy, geology, and biology. These had made the former theory simply untenable. And science has supplied theology with a theory which the intellect can accept, and which for the devout mind leaves everything more worthy of worship than before.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

(To be concluded.)

DIVES AND LAZARUS.

LUKE xvi. 19-31.

THE parable of the unjust steward was spoken for the purpose of encouraging rich men to make a right use of their wealth, as well as for the sake of reminding all Christians that the qualities which give success in the world and constitute practical wisdom are very much required in the kingdom of God. But the Pharisees, who were rich, and who under a show of godliness and piety kept a very firm hold on their money, laughed at the novel investment which our Lord proposed.

In our day the views of Christ regarding the distribution of wealth are seriously discussed by political economists, and no one ventures to deride His suggestion. There are still, however, double-dyed Pharisees, who with decorous solemnity and without a shadow of a smile listen to our Lord's recommendations, but listen also without the slightest intention of allowing them any practical force, without one

thought of giving them effect in their own life. The Pharisee who smiled incredulously in our Lord's face, and expressed pity for His ignorance of the world, was no match for our modern Pharisee, who can persuade himself he gives our Lord a reverent hearing though he does not dream of obeying Him.

The satirical and mocking observations which began to fly round the crowd when the former parable was closed, induced our Lord to expose still more plainly the folly of the Pharisees and rich men. They lived in the comfortable creed that wealth was a manifest sign, if not the manifest sign, of God's favour, while disease and poverty were the results of sin either in the sufferer or in his parents, a creed which had just truth enough in it to give it life and make it pernicious. They believed that the man who was wealthy here would be wealthy in the world to come, and that God could not but esteem that which commanded the admiration of the well-washed and decorous Pharisee. They had, to their own perfect satisfaction, reconciled the love of God and the love of money. They laughed at our Lord, therefore, when He told them that God and mammon were irreconcilable, and that to be rich and honoured in this world was no sign whatever of riches and honour in the world to come. Our Lord, therefore, argues no further with them, but draws aside for a moment the curtain that hides the world of spirits and discloses to their view the after history of two men, one of whom had been opulent and powerful, the other nothing. He shows them what becomes of many highly respectable citizens, and what is frequently the result of the kind of life they chiefly admired. He takes them into the unseen world and gives them to understand that—

“Many there be who fill the highest place,
Kings upon earth, who here like swine shall bide,
Leaving but scorn and horror in their trace.”

The first figure our Lord sets before us in the parable is intended as a mirror to the Pharisees. He is not intended to be depicted as a monstrous specimen of inhumanity or luxurious living. We do not read that his wealth had been unrighteously acquired. No doubtful speculations, no far too clever financing, no transactions generally condemned, are charged against him. He was simply a rich man, who had made his money in the usual way. Neither was he a miser who could not bear to spend what he had made; on the contrary, he liked to see his friends enjoying themselves at his expense. Had he been notoriously selfish and uncharitable, his gate would never have been chosen as the asylum of the beggar. Indeed, this circumstance, that Lazarus was day after day laid there, points rather to a character for such Pharisaic almsgiving as would maintain his reputation as an observer of the law; for those who were careful enough to carry the beggar out in the morning would certainly set him where he would be pretty sure of being fed. The rich man did not refuse to have so loathsome an object at his gate, did not refuse to have his pleasure somewhat spoilt by the sickening sight, did not order his servants to drive the disgusting creature off his doorstep. Neither is it said that the man was a sensualist, curious in sauces and wines, knowing how everything should be cooked and in what season and with what relish it should be eaten. Not at all: he had money and liked to live pleasantly and brightly. He wore good clothes; not tissue of silver like Herod, nor anything that made him stared at in the streets, but merely, like fifty other rich men in his town, good linen next his skin and seemly purple over it. It is, in short, to his condition and not to his character our attention is in the first place directed. His character is shown by and by; but if we would receive the parable in its full force we must not anticipate its conclusion, but suffer ourselves to be led to it step by step.

And this first step is to set before us a man surrounded by all the comforts of life and enjoying them to the full.

In striking contrast to this affluent, easy, brilliant life is set the other extreme of the human condition. And here, too, nothing as yet is said of the *character* of Lazarus; it is only intended to paint vividly external circumstances as squalid, disgusting, and pitiable, as those of the rich Pharisee were enviable and glittering. While the gaily apparelled guests throng into the mansion, while the sounds of mirth and dancing attract the passers by, and the brilliant lights shed a radiance over all within, Lazarus lies through the weary hours in the outer darkness under the sweeping, chilling rain, waiting for the scraps that the hungriest slave casts out. Within, the Pharisee is receiving the flatteries of a hundred of his clients, and is wrapped round with all that nurses self-complacency; at his gate lies a helpless heap, a distorted wreck of a man that the dogs mistake for a carcase thrown out to them, and that men hurry past with a shudder. It is a contrast such as our own streets continually present, and if anything you have yourselves seen of the extremes of comfort and discomfort can add another touch to this picture, you are welcome to see remembered reality shining through the parable.

There are some pictures so constructed that when the spectator is thoroughly impressed with the scene before him, a spring is touched, the picture turns on a pivot and exposes on its reverse side that which completes the intended impression. This picture is constructed on similar principles. The festive Pharisee and the diseased beggar filling the eye, the picture is in a moment reversed, and the Pharisee is seen dropped out of all comfort and affluence, craving a drop of water as a boon he has no means of procuring, while Lazarus is lifted to the pinnacle of human sufficiency and glorified above all earthly magnificence.

There is something intentionally horrifying in the suddenness of the contrast. Fresh from his luxurious ease, Dives is in torments; quicker than a troop of bandits strip a traveller, is he stripped of all the inexhaustible equipment for comfortable living which had characterized him in life. In the suddenness, completeness, and terror of the contrast, it is comparable to that which passes under a brilliant southern sky where nature has been prodigal of her beauties, when there is but one moment's murmur, and the earth opens, pours out its flood of fire, and the fruitful land lies a scorched and sterile waste.

It need scarcely be said that this is merely a pictorial or figurative representation. Disembodied spirits have not eyes, fingers, tongues, voices. But the impression conveyed to the reader is strictly true, that a man's condition in this life may be reversed in the world to come. The truth our Lord desired in the first place to enforce was, that what is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God—that while men hurry past Lazarus with sickening revulsion and seek the company of the luxurious Dives in his well-appointed house, it is from Dives that God turns with loathing. This is not at once made apparent, but in the ordinary course of things this judgment of God finds its counterpart in actual events and circumstances. And it is a pity that we should be so little able to enter into and sympathize with God's judgments; that our admiration should be so much spent upon rank, talent, wealth, success and prosperity. The man who invents a machine or makes a discovery which will facilitate business operations or add to the conveniences of life is at once raised to a pinnacle of fame; the author of a brilliant novel or the leader of a political party can scarcely make his way through applauding crowds. And it seems ungracious to turn the other side of the picture, and show their rank and place in a world where rank and place are determined solely by char-

acter. Yet the fact is that all things that make the greatest show in the world, wealth and power and genius, are the mere instruments with which character works, and are useful or hurtful according as the motive that wields them is good or evil. Let us learn then to esteem character, that it may not be said of us also, that what is highly esteemed by us is abomination in God's sight. It is of the essence of Pharisaism to be deceived by appearances, to have its judgment arrested on the outside and the surface, to be satisfied if the manners are good and the outward conduct respectable. It is weak and Pharisaic to be taken in by what is not of the essence of the man, and may be changed with circumstances and must be left behind at death. And it is this way of judging by the outsides and accidents of things, that prepares those tremendous reversals of human judgment exemplified in the parable. If men were now grouped and ranked according to their spiritual and moral qualities, how often would rags take precedence of purple, and the outcast from under the hedge be counted more valuable for all eternal purposes than the well-housed and respectable citizen.

On the other hand, when tempted to murmur at the rougher portions of your lot, when you begin to look upon your misfortune as punishment driving you from God, when you suffer your outward circumstances to regulate your inward peace, and find it hard to believe in the love of God when it sends you no better physicians than dogs, no ampler provision than crumbs from a rich man's table, remember Lazarus, and learn that the outward circumstance of this life is no index by which you may read the relation you hold to God; that you may have one value in this world, another in the world to come; that here outward circumstances are the training of saints, there the unmistakable indication of the spiritual condition, sinners there being the only sufferers.

If the parable however, merely exhibited the sudden and shocking reversal of human judgments and alteration of human conditions, it might be open to the charge often brought against it, that it is a mere condemnation of wealthy men as wealthy and a defence of poverty. But the parable at once proceeds to show on what the reversal of human judgment is founded—it goes on to show what the *character* of the rich man had been, what was the moral element and principle which ran through and determined his life upon earth. “Son, remember,” says Abraham to him, “remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things and likewise Lazarus evil things.” That is to say, if you desired equality with Lazarus in this world of spirits, you should have laid the foundation for it in giving him equality with you in your life-time. Had you made friends with the unrighteous mammon which you so abundantly possessed, you would have been anxiously expected and welcomed by Lazarus and all those you blessed. Had you used your wealth as God’s steward for the use of God’s suffering creatures, you would now be enjoying pleasures greater than ever you experienced on earth. You beg for the friendship of Lazarus now, and entreat his kindly offices; but you had the means of making him your friend while on earth. He is now beyond reach of your good things and friendship, and you are beyond reach of his. It is you yourself who allowed the contrast between you and Lazarus to abide, and it does abide. “Remember,” look back on your earthly life, reflect upon its opportunities and the way you used them, and you will understand the origin and the justice of your present condition; you will recognise that it is yourself who have fixed this yawning chasm between you and all permanent joy. You did not bridge the chasm between you in life—you did not leave your splendour to sit by his side, to hold his racking, weary head, to drive off the dogs and make him feel that at least in one human breast

he had an asylum—you did not even send your servants to bring him in to an outhouse to lie among your cattle—you had everything that he needed and you left him in his need—you did not enquire into his necessities, nor penetrate through the rags and stench and poverty to the humanity they encased—you did not own him as a brother, and in anticipation of his lying in Abraham's bosom at the banquet of eternal bliss, take him in to yourself—you stood aloof and separated yourself from him, and that separation abides. Had you shared with him on earth you would have shared with him now.

This is no doubt a pretty hard lesson to learn. And I believe those will feel its hardness most who have most desire to learn it; who have candour enough and integrity of purpose enough to look straight at our Lord as He utters this counsel, and to feel that if they are to maintain a conscience void of offence they must be clear in their own minds as to the use they make of money and advantages. It is startling, too, to find that the destiny of Dives was determined by his conduct towards this one poor man: little as he thought of him, it was this powerless creature who could not even crawl into his path and force attention, who was exercising a more determining influence on his future than any of those who thronged his banquetting rooms and discussed with him all his plans and new devices of money-making or money-spending. What one person is it who holds this relation to our life; perhaps as little thought of by us as Lazarus by Dives, and yet truly determining what we are to be and to have in eternity? The man whose wants you relieve sullenly, almost angrily; the man whose too frequently recurring necessities you resent and spurn; the person who crossed your path when you were too much occupied with your own joys to observe his face of starvation or disease; such persons, and they whose claims you now refuse to look at for a moment, are determining your eternal condition,

But "beside all this"—the thing you ask is impossible. It is, in the first place, *just* that there should be this reversal of your condition; but supposing that Lazarus were willing to forget the long wretched hours he spent at your gate, or supposing that his experience of pain made him sensitive to yours and anxious to relieve it, the thing *cannot* be done. This too is an essential part of the parable. The results produced by character and a life-long habit cannot be expunged in the easy way suggested by Dives. The consequences of a selfish life of pleasure cannot be reversed as soon as they begin to be uncomfortable and distressing. If you take the wrong turning at the entrance to a mountain pass you may emerge very near your friend who has taken the right one, but with a yawning gulf between that no human agility can leap—the only way is to go right back and follow the path he has taken, and if it is too late to go back, if the night has fallen and the mist closed in around you, no beseeching of the inexorable hills will repair your error. So a life of easy careless selfishness leads to a moral condition, a state of heart and of lot, from which no sudden leap can bring a man into the company and condition of those who have passed through long years of purifying pain and patient endurance that have tested every fibre of their character.

It is a grave charge indeed that we are each of us entrusted with—to determine for ourselves the eternity in which we are to live. And are we to expect that this can be well done without thought, care, conflict, all that can prove us men and bring out our manhood? Does any one resent being called upon to be in earnest and to make this life an ideal and a noble life for himself? Does any one object to this life being a *real* trial of men, fitted to determine and actually determining what they really are?—Surely no right-minded person would shrink from a test that is real, that goes deep enough to search the very roots of evil and of good in us.

One would naturally expect that the parable would close at this point. The doom of the selfish pleasure-seeker, of the man who does not use the means in his power to help the needy, has been clearly shown. It has been shown that if Pharisees on earth deride the proposal to serve God only and not mammon at all, the Pharisee who has left earth is in no laughing mood, is convinced of the justice of his doom and the impossibility of relief. And one would suppose this left no more to be said. But if no more had been said, the Pharisees, ever ready to justify themselves, would have said : This is a mere fancy sketch, spoken under provocation for the sake of alarming us. If things were as He represents them to be, some courteous ghost would blab it out—we should not be left by our father Abraham to glide on to such a doom, unstayed and unwarned. Anticipating such evasions, our Lord appends the pathetic supplication of Dives : “ If I am past redemption, save my brethren ; if no relief can reach me in this place of torment, hinder them from a similar doom.” And this request is introduced merely for the sake of bringing out that already all needed warning is given, and that the proposed additional warning would have no effect whatever—that is to say, the Pharisees are without excuse if they continue their attempts to make the best of both worlds.

The statement of the parable, however, to the effect that those who disregard Moses and the Prophets would equally disregard the appearance of a dead friend, is one which at first seems open to question. Who has not often longed to lift the veil and see for a little the actual condition of the dead ? Who has not felt as if it would be so much easier to believe if we could but for one hour see ? Who has not been ready to say with these Pharisees : Why not end all this doubt, all this plague of scepticism, all this brutality and worldliness, by sending back from among the dead some messengers who might be identified, and who might plainly tell

us what they know, and allow us to cross-examine them? Could they be better employed? And if faith is so desirable, why is not everything done that can be done to give us faith? If there is a spiritual world in which it is so important that we believe, why are we not put in direct communication with it so that it would become as real to us as France or China or any country of whose existence we have no doubt, although we have never seen it? Is it possible that this world and a world so utterly different can be in so close a connexion, as if separated only by a paper screen through which a man may any moment fall, and that yet we should so little know what passes in that world? Is it possible that that world can be filled with friends of our own, and yet not one of them whispers us a single word, no more than if there were no such world at all? Is it possible that men who are to-day fully occupied with this world, following its fashion and leaving the world of retribution to sober, religious people, may to-morrow find themselves in that world? And if so, why does not nature herself cry out to warn us from our ruin? Why do not the spirits of the dead return and command us to hold back?

Such feelings are natural, but they are misleading. The rich man's brethren were heedless of the unseen world, not because they did not believe that any future state awaited them, but because this world's pleasures absorbed their interest. It was a profound moral change they needed, and for effecting such a change, "Moses and the Prophets," the continuous revelation of God and His holiness in the past, was a much more powerful and appropriate instrument than an apparition. By such a messenger from the dead as the rich man proposed—supposing his message could be authenticated—our ideas of what lies beyond the veil might be altered, and fear might lead us to adapt our conduct to the revealed future; but could our character be thus changed? No revelation of punishment awaiting the evil-doer could

avail to make us different in heart, or could unfix our real inward affections from sensual and worldly objects, and fix them upon God and what is spiritual and holy. Only the revelation to our own souls of the beauty of holiness, only the revelation of God, in the fullest sense of these words, can teach us to fix our hearts unalterably on God and all that lives with Him and in Him. Only by seeing and knowing Him can we learn to love Him; and only by loving Him are we perfected as men.

It is doubtful if even the information given by such a messenger—apart altogether from the effects such information might produce—would be of much value or would be permanently accepted as valid. It is true, many in our own day are persuaded that they receive the most assured knowledge of the unseen world by holding direct communication with those who have entered it, and I would be slow to deny the possibility or actuality of all such communication; but as yet this method of discovering the unseen has merely shown how constant a craving for such knowledge exists in men, rather than that much assured and wholesome truth has been reached by it. He was more deeply instructed who rather shrank from any such re-appearances of the dead and anticipated the fruitlessness of any such comfort:

“If any vision should reveal
Thy likeness, I might count it vain,
As but the canker of the brain;
Yea, though it spake and made appeal
To chances where our lots were cast
Together in the days behind,
I might but say, I hear a wind
Of memory murmuring the past.”

It is not in that direction we need look for relief from our scepticism with all its unrest, vacillation, and brooding sadness. But does not God *everywhere* elude observation? Is God not unwilling that we should know Him? Does He

not hide Himself? Are not clouds and darkness impenetrable round about Him? Not so. God seeks to make Himself known to you. He wishes to bring as much light as possible into your mind, and has used the best means of introducing that light. Why then do so many earnest men spend their years in a vain search for God? Why have so many most thoughtful and enquiring men missed the light they have all their days been looking for, and without which they have no joy in life? Partly, perhaps chiefly, because, like the rich man, each enquirer prefers some self-devised method of revelation to the method God has actually adopted. To those who understand that God is the One Living Spirit, all things reveal Him. He besets them behind and before, and though they should be oppressed by the presence and flee from it, God awaits them in their place of flight and they cannot escape Him. The intelligence discernible in all things, in their harmony and unity, in their universal subservience of one plan and contribution to progress—this is God. The holy love that is discernible in the law that governs human affairs—this is God. More discernible is this law in Jewish history than elsewhere, because the Jews awaited its working, and observed and recorded it, while other races mistook what they had to deal with. But if men look for a God that is not or where He is not, they cannot find Him. If they will not look at things as they actually are; if they will not consider what Moses and the Prophets teach; if they will not recognise the unseen Spirit that trained and guided and made Himself felt by Israel; if they shut their eyes to the embodiment of that Spirit in Christ, and to His working since in millions of our race; if, that is to say, they exclude all that is most significant in human history, can we expect anything else than that the search for God elsewhere will be fruitless and disappointing? If we find God at all, we must find Him not spectrally separate from all known realities, but in and through all things

that are, and especially in and through human history and our own souls.

Through all these things God reveals Himself to us, as to moral and reasonable creatures, who can be more profoundly influenced by appeals to conscience and reason than by startling and abnormal apparitions. And if from these things we can learn nothing about God and our duty to Him, still less are we likely to learn from necromancy. Conscience lies deeper in us and is a more essential organ than the eye, and if conscience responds to all that Moses and the Prophets, completed and interpreted by Christ, tell us about God, this is an infinitely worthier testimony to His existence and His truth than if an unsubstantial shade hovered before the eye, and in some hollow, sepulchral mutterings, warned us of the results of unbelief. If your faith is weak, do not wait for unusual manifestations or novel proofs of things unseen, but use the means of knowing God which others have found sufficient, and which God has actually furnished. Keep your mind saturated with the teachings and life of Christ, and what your conscience responds to, see that you act upon. For if the humble and loving tone of the morality you find there enters into your blood, the eyes of your understanding will become brighter to discern spiritual things. Begin at the right end and with what is already within your reach. Begin with what you know to be true, that is, with what your conscience accepts. Begin with obedience, with gratefully accepting a light upon duty and upon your relation to the persons and things around you which you cannot but own to be the truest and best, and by following this light you will at length reach an atmosphere in which things will assume their right and true proportions. Thus will you earn the reward of humility and truthfulness of spirit, not outrunning your actual faith, but not lagging behind conscience; thus will you learn the truth of the Lord's own words: "If any man

do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." The pure in heart shall see God; if not now, then hereafter.

MARCUS DODS.

BISHOP MARTENSEN.

It is with very great reluctance that I have allowed myself to be persuaded to say a few words about the greatest Scandinavian, perhaps the greatest Lutheran, divine, of our century. Every cobbler should stick to his last, and among the theologians I am silent. But it happens that I had the great privilege of knowing Bishop Martensen personally, and I suppose that I am the only Englishman of letters who did know him, for he never visited this country. The editor of this Magazine, therefore, having kindly desired me to speak, and I having consented to do so, it would be affectation if I hesitated to give my brief and poor personal recollections, since I have been selected to sit here because I happen to recollect. I am interesting, as Mr. Browning would say, because I picked up the eagle's feather; so I will produce my prize, and hasten to make room for fitter company.

It was in July, 1872, that I saw Bishop Martensen first, and on several occasions. Of the earliest of these only, I am sorry to say, have I preserved notes. I was staying in Copenhagen as the guest of Dr. Fog, afterwards Bishop of Aarhus, and now, since Martensen's death, his successor in the Primacy. To this happy circumstance I owed the honour of seeing the great prelate at home, and in private. I had been reading the famous *Dogmatics*, the eloquent and varied pages of which contain intellectual food for the laity no less than for the clergy, and I felt a strong curiosity to see the illustrious author. The

palace of the metropolitan bishops of Sjælland stands in the heart of Copenhagen, opposite the Cathedral church of Our Lady. We saw "Bispinden" first, the Bishopess, as the Danes put it, and then we were shown into the library. The man who rose to welcome us was not of imposing stature. I fear to seem irreverent if I confess that my attention was seized by his ears; they were very large, and set at right angles to his head, standing out from his pinched face like wings. The eyes, in fact, were the only feature which, to my mind, answered to the fame and public character of the Bishop; they were full and deep grey in colour, but habitually covered by heavy lids, through which there shot a sort of mild steely light. These lids rose in moments of excitement, quite suddenly, and showed that the eyes were of unusual size and beauty. On such occasions the little, almost wizened face, seemed to wake up, and become charged with intelligence. I am bound to say that had I not known of his power in dialectic, and his strong hand in administration, I should not have had the wit to guess them from his appearance.

In the above notes I have summarized my recollections of his appearance. On the occasion I describe, July 25th, 1872, I had not the opportunity to observe so much. But I have noted something in my diary of his talk that day. After conversing with my companion, his most intimate friend, he presently turned to me and courteously said, in German, "I am sorry to say I speak no English; can you converse in German?" I replied, "Will your Høiærværdighed permit me to talk to you in Danish?" He laughed—I had occasion to observe that he laughed frequently, and with much geniality—and set me in a little arm-chair by his side. "Ah! you talk Danish; now that is very nice!" He then proceeded to speak about the English—a charming nation individually, but their policy, ah! their policy! "Alas! you have blundering states-

men and a cowardly policy; I fear you will suffer before long!" and he began to discuss the burning question of 1864 with a certain vehemence. This was a matter about which I knew nothing, and about which he knew too much. I was less embarrassed when he suddenly veered to English poetry. He told me that he had always been a great student of Shakespeare, in Foersom's old-fashioned version, but that his son, who was re-translating some of the plays, told him that it was not very accurate. "And is it true," he went on abruptly, "that Byron was refused burial in Westminster Abbey? Ah! we would have given him a resting-place in Holmen's Kirke, would we not?" he said, turning quickly round to Dr. Fog. That was the most notable thing he said, as far as my diary and my memory help me, on that first occasion. I saw him at least once more in 1872, but my memories of what he said are quite swallowed up in the fact that, as I have described elsewhere, I had just heard his great antagonist, Grundtvig, in his ninetieth year, preach his last sermon, a few weeks before he died.

In the early summer of 1874 I saw much more of Bishop Martensen, and could appreciate him better. I was admitted to the honour of his hospitality, and saw the genial and domestic side of that genius that appeared so grim to his opponents. I should be accused of frivolity if I recounted the incident that most clearly recalls to my memory the countenance of the Bishop; Sir Thomas Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais, died, choked with a fit of laughter; history has, happily, no such dreadful entry under the name of the greatest of Danish divines. I hurry on, past the verge of this indiscretion, to mention the great ecclesiastical excitement of that spring in Copenhagen, namely, the ordination of Tobias Mørch, the Esquimaux, the first, and I believe still the only pure-blooded Greenlander who has ever been successfully trained

to be a pastor. The ceremony, at which I assisted in May, and of which I gave at the time an account in the *Spectator*, took up a great deal of conversation at the houses I frequented, and I find in my notes that Bishop Martensen spoke much about it. He inspired, in fact, a good deal of what I wrote on the occasion. The Greenlander himself, the living nine-day's wonder, was a terrible little personage, and I never felt more uncomfortable than on one occasion when he breakfasted with Dr. Fog, and I found myself left alone to entertain him.

The Bishop, of whom I despair of giving an impression of due episcopal sedateness, deigned to be excessively diverted at my horror of the clerical Esquimaux. I have noted in my diary that the Bishop put me through a cross-examination regarding religious education in England, and that he detected easily that I knew nothing about it. He also, on one occasion, spoke to me with great enthusiasm about the poems and tragedies of Oehlenschläger, and advised me, if I wanted to become a master of the finest Danish, to study them. He said that modern criticism had found fault with Oehlenschläger, but that nothing prevented him, Dr. Martensen, from coming back to the author of *Palnatoke* with rapture, as to the first of poets. On another occasion, as I happened to speak of having steamed up the Little Belt under the lee of Langeland, he recited some lines from Oehlenschläger's lovely poem, the *Langelandsreise*, with great emotion. I feel very much ashamed to be obliged to confess that I remember nothing else that this great man honoured me by saying to me.

The only other contribution to personal reminiscence which I can make is to reprint from the *Spectator* of May 23, 1874, the passage in which, on the afternoon of the day in question, I described a sermon which I heard Bishop Martensen preach in the Cathedral of Our Lady:—

“After a sermon of some length from a young pastor, the eyes

of the vast assembly turned to the door of the South Chapel, from which the Bishop, in his robes of silver satin, emerged and rapidly ascended the altar, followed by all the candidates for ordination, who then ranged themselves, kneeling, around the altar-rail. The central figure among these latter was the Greenlander. It was easy to recognise him; his low stature, high cheek-bones, and narrow eyes proclaimed the Esquimaux. It formed a remarkable contrast to look at the sensitive, intellectual face of Dr. Martensen, and then at the flat features of the young candidate before him. The greatest philosophical genius that the Lutheran Church possesses in all Europe stood face to face with one who was but lately a savage of the dullest of the world's races. Dr. Martensen then delivered an address that the clock assured one was long, but the eloquence, fervour and grace of which prevented the attention from becoming weary. He dwelt on the unique character of the event that brought us together. Remembering how many other candidates were present, he would fain have made his remarks more general, but it was evident that the excitement of the scene overcame him, and he had eyes and words only for the Greenlander. With an exquisite fervour and pathos he pointed out the desolate condition of the tribes, only ten thousand persons in all, who seek a miserable livelihood in the frozen seas and on the sterile plains of Greenland. When the candidates had entered in procession, another procession of the clergy of the diocese had followed them, and had taken their places in the choir, in a square around the winged angel that Thorwaldsen designed to bear the font. When the address was over, the candidates descended from the altar, and forming in procession again, walked round the choir, each to receive the greeting of each priest. They returned to their kneeling posture; the Bishop then prepared to perform the act of ordination, while the clergy gathered and thronged on altar-steps, to support their brethren with their presence. When the prelate reached the Greenlander, a special excitement seemed to move in the congregation. Amid the deepest silence, and with a voice trembling with emotion, Dr. Martensen ordained Tobias Mörch to be a priest of the Lutheran Church, and to carry the Gospel to his countrymen in Greenland. He had reached the centre of the semicircle, and the outspread movement of his hand in blessing seemed to reflect the inspired attitude of the colossal marble figure [Thorwaldsen's 'Christ'] above him."

It will be found that in his autobiography the Bishop speaks of the ordination of Tobias Mörch, as of one of the landmarks in his episcopate, but without giving any particulars of the event.

Towards the end of his life, Dr. Hans Lassen Martensen published, in three volumes, a sort of intellectual autobiography, *Af mit Levnet* (From my Life). It is one of the most fascinating records of the growth of a mind which I know; extremely simple, discreet and genial, barren of anecdote indeed, and still more barren of scandal, but redeemed from any suspicion of dulness by the sincerity and force of the narration. Martensen was born, in 1808, at Flensburg, in South Jutland, the territory since 1864 appropriated by Germany. His father had been a peasant, his mother was the daughter of a second-hand bookseller in Flensburg. As a boy the future theologian came to Copenhagen, and in 1827 became a student at the university. His earliest proclivities were towards poetry and music, especially dramatic poetry and the violin. Throughout his career Martensen preserved a great interest in the theatre, and had a wonderful memory for plots and parts; in the last year of his life he lamented that he had allowed himself to lose his early skill in fiddling, and he was wont to say that "to march up and down a room improvising on a violin is one of the healthiest ways in the world of passing a pleasant hour." The great theologian was no bigot in his attitude towards any of the arts. When he was in the thick of his theological controversies, he took up the study of painting, and devoted himself, like a specialist, to the old-German school, the Cologne Masters. This was not for a diversion, however, but because he fancied that by making himself acquainted with their processes, he could obtain some side-light upon the Mystics. It is worthy of mention, however, as showing how ready he was to annex to theology any province of the world's art. In the same

spirit, when he was studying the early German theologians in the libraries of Vienna in 1835, he went almost every night to the Burg Theater, and associated specially with the poets and musicians, that he might have the aid of all the arts in penetrating to the spiritual constitution of the German intellect.

When he first made up his mind to give all his talents to theology, he placed himself in communication with each of the leaders of religious thought in Denmark. The stir of intelligence in Copenhagen in his youth was remarkable; a revival had set in which affected politics and religion, literature and art. In theology, all through Protestant Christendom, a reaction was taking place; rationalism was being met with a determined front, the sceptics were not allowed to have it all their own way in argument. The systems of Hegel and Schelling were attracting a great deal of notice in the Lutheran world, and these, together with the new theology of Schleiermacher, were the objects of great curiosity in Denmark. The reaction found two heads in Danish theology itself,—Mynster, and a man who is better remembered now than he, the extraordinary poet-preacher Grundtvig. Among these influences Martensen moved, passing from the one teacher to the other, not so definitely engaged in appropriating the ideas of any one, as in putting them all into the places which it seemed to him they held in the historical development of the time. Already the philosophic and historic breadth of his intelligence, which was to prove so inestimable a treasure to his party, was prominently developed in him.

Of all the leaders of his student-days, however, it seems to have been Schleiermacher in whose system he most nearly acquiesced. Schleiermacher happened to visit Copenhagen in the last year of his life, and Martensen, then a student, called upon him, drew him into interminable Socratic discussion, and though he refused to proceed so far, on some points,

along the road to rationalism, as Schleiermacher seemed to do, yet on the whole he appears to have received from this man more of philosophical edification than from any other. Yet, even as a student, he was independent of others; he enjoyed and profited by dialectic, but he did not need it, and he notes the sudden death of Schleiermacher with the regret of a friend, not with the despair of a disciple.

Martensen's gift as a theologian was manifest from the first. At the age of six and twenty he won the theological diploma of the university, and he set off at once to learn what Germany had to teach him. He was absent two years, always in Socratic dispute with some great man; at Berlin with Steffens, at Munich with the mystic Franz Baader, at Vienna with Lenau. The riddle which weighed upon him, and which he invited every thinker whom he met to assist him in solving, was the autonomy of consciousness. Those who are familiar with Martensen's writings will recognise the central position which this idea takes in all his religious philosophy. He holds it impossible that man can know God by his own consciousness, by the effort of his intellect. All knowledge of God must be based on faith, *credo, ut intelligam*, as Martensen never tires of repeating. When he returned to Denmark he took up these ideas, and formulated them in a Latin treatise, for which the University in 1837 gave him a degree. His views, which were in direct opposition to those familiar to Lutheran divinity at that time, and his determined attacks upon philosophical speculation, attracted great notice in Germany as well as in Scandinavia.

He was made Doctor of Divinity in 1840, and Professor in 1841. He long nourished a dream of writing a great work on the Mystics; at Paris and at Vienna he made vast preparations for this book, which never was written, and of which only a fragment remains in his treatise on *Meister Eckhart*, which deals with German mysticism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was published in 1840, and in

1841 appeared his *Outline of a System of Moral Philosophy*, a selection from his lectures since 1838. As a university lecturer Martensen exercised a very wide influence, and his popular manner attracted to his chair crowds of non-theological students. His popularity became greater still, when, in 1845, he became Court Preacher, and his Hegelianism began to give a colouring to the conscience of his generation. The public was thoroughly prepared to receive his doctrines gladly when, in 1849, he published the most successful and famous of his contributions to theological literature, his *Christian Dogmatics*, which has been translated into most European languages, even into Modern Greek, and has exercised as wide an influence on Protestant thought as any volume of our century. In Germany it has enjoyed a popularity even wider than in Scandinavia. In 1854, when Mynster died, Martensen, who had refused the bishopric of Slesvig, accepted the primacy of Denmark, and he began his administrative labours in the Church with acts of great vigour and determination. He became in consequence cordially detested and violently attacked by all those sections of the Danish Lutheran body which wavered to this side or to that from a hierarchical orthodoxy.

Great part of Martensen's time and energy henceforth was taken up with polemic against Grundtvig, against Rasmus Nielsen (of whose death I hear as I write these lines), against the Catholics and against the Irvingites. Many of his later writings are of this purely controversial character, his "Exposure of the so-called Grundtvigianism," his "Catholicism and Protestantism," his "Socialism and Christendom." It must be difficult, I think, for any but Scandinavian readers to follow these discussions with interest. But in 1871 Martensen returned to the wider field of positive philosophy, and published the first volume of his *Christian Ethics*, which was concluded in 1878. This book attracted but little less attention than the

Dogmatics had done. He supported his mystical views of faith against modern logic and modern physic still more actively in his remarkable volume of studies on *Jacob Böhme*, which formed, as he confessed, his own favourite among his writings. Some passages of this book were severely criticized as being obscure and fantastic; but the theological world accepted it as putting forth the doctrines of orthodoxy more clearly and vigorously than even the *Dogmatics*. It is, I believe, the opinion of all competent students that, considered in conjunction, these three books form the most considerable contribution to Lutheran theology which Scandinavia has supplied. The extreme clearness and beauty of the style cannot but add to the charm of these works, which an outsider can study with no less pleasure than instruction. Martensen was by no means indifferent to the form of his writing; he says in one place that it was his ambition to raise Danish theology to a rank in literature level with that attained by Danish poetry.

In February, 1884, Dr. Martensen died, and was buried with great solemnity in his own cathedral of Our Lady, The King and the conservative party knew what they owed to the rigid Tory prelate, whose face was set like a flint against the modern spirit in politics, in literature, in philosophy. Martensen in his later years had come to be a dam against the rising tides of democracy, and he was much more than a churchman, he was a great conservative statesman. All the party which calls itself the party of order rallied around him, and united to do honour to him alive and dead. Nor could those who smarted under his inflexible will, who lamented his determined opposition to new ideas, fail to be proud of him. He was a great man, a man who did honour to Denmark. It is not the critics of his own country only, it is the more impartial Germans who have declared Hans Lassen Martensen to be the greatest Protestant theologian of the present century. EDMUND GOSSE.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

IN complying with the wish of the editor of the *EXPOSITOR*, that I should furnish a periodical review of the more recent foreign literature bearing on the Scriptures of the Old Testament, I must appeal, as regards this opening paper, to the indulgence of my readers in consideration of the very limited space available for my purpose. Moreover, it is only in a second or third contribution that a review of this kind can hope to correspond, as far as possible, to the aims of the Magazine and the wishes of the readers. Lastly, there is not at my disposal, at the present moment, the amount of leisure I would fain have devoted to the accomplishment of this task.

The books and articles noticed in this review were published, almost without exception, during the year 1883; yet I have thought it well to refer to some few writings of greater importance which appeared in the year 1882. As regards the literature of 1884, I hope to furnish a review thereof in the course of a few months.

For the earlier period the following writings are to be recommended: (1) Joh. Geo. Walch, *Bibliotheca Theologica selecta*. Jenæ, 1757-65 (Four thick vols.). Idem, *Bibliotheca Patristica*. Jenæ, 1770 (New ed. improved and greatly enlarged. Ed. J. T. L. Danzius. Jenæ, 1834; pp. 804). (2) Geo. Bened. Winer, *Handbuch der Theolog. Literatur, hauptsächlich der Protestantischen*. 3rd ed.; 2 vols. Leipzig, 1838-40. (3) E. A. Zuchold, *Bibliotheca Theologica*. [List of writings in the domain of Protest. Theology, or of importance for the same, published in Germany during the years 1830-62. In alphabetical order.] Göttingen, 1864; pp. 1560. (4) Edward Baldamus u. Rich. Haupt, *Die lit. Erscheinungen der letzten 5 Jahre, 1865-69, auf dem Gebiet der Prot. [und Kathol.] Theologie*. Systematisch geordnet. Rendsitz [now, Leipzig], 1870; pp. 140 [Kathol., pp. 100]. E. Baldamus, *Die Erscheinungen der deutschen Lit. auf dem Gebiet der Prot. [u. Kathol.] Theologie*, 1870-1874. Leipz. 1875. Idem, *Die Ersch. der deutsch. Lit. auf dem Geb. der Prot. [Kath.] Th.*, 1875-1879. Leipzig, 1880; pp. 144 [Kath., 1881, pp. 92]. As regards the period from Oct. 1876 to the end of 1881, the report has been so ably prepared by Prof. Emil

Kantzschn,¹ that even all the non-German literature, so far as known to him, has been included in his account. His notices, bearing the stamp as they do of diligence and scholarship, are worthy of careful attention; although, as regards the Pentateuch-criticism, the author unfortunately belongs to the school of Wellhausen. In like manner the historic surveys prepared by Prof. Carl Siegfried,² though written from a pretty radical standpoint, in more than one respect merit our gratitude. Be it further observed that Kantzschn and Siegfried enter more fully into details than it is possible for us here to do. He, therefore, who wishes for more complete information, should consult the work of one or other of these scholars.

We begin with the AID TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Among these, the 9th edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Neunte Aufl., neu bearbeitet von F. Mühlan u. W. Volck [Professors at Dorpat]. Leipzig; Vogel, 1883; pp. xvi. and 978), has been unfavourably criticised by four scholars of very different theological leanings: E. Schürer, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* 1883, No. 23; Friederich Delitzsch, *The Heb. Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, Lond., 1883, Preface; P. A. de Lagarde, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1884, Pt. 7 [reprinted in *Mittheilungen*, Göttingen, 1884, pp. 208-239]; H. L. Strack, *Theolog. Literaturblatt* 1884, No. 22. The main fault found is that the editors have far too little turned to account the labours of such explorers as, de Lagarde, Dillmann, Hupfeld, Nöldeke, and have made too little use of the ascertained results of Assyriology; while in the etymological parts they have followed Fleischer in quite a one-sided way. H. Strack, in his exposition of the doctrine of the Hebrew forms (Hermann L. Strack, *Hebräische Grammatik, mit Uebungsstücken, Litteratur, und Vokabular*. Karlsruhe u. Leipzig; H. Reuther, 1883; London, Dulau & Co.; pp. xv., 163; 2 Mk. 70 [Part I. of the *Porta linguarum orientalium*]), has endeavoured to combine brevity and distinctness with a scientific

¹ Comp. *Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht über die Morgenländischen Studien von Oct. 1876 bis Dec. 1877* [u. im Jahre 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881]. Leipzig, 1879 sqq. (Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplement to vol. xxxiii. [xxxiv. sqq.]).

² Comp. *Theologischer Jahresbericht. Unter Mitwirkung von . . . herausgeg. von B. Pünjer*. Vol. i. [ii. iii.], containing the literature of the year 1881 [1882, 1883]. Leipzig, 1882 [1883, 1884].

treatment. Simultaneously with the appearing of the second edition (probably as early as 1885), an English translation is to be published. To the smaller works of: (1) Franz Prätorius, *Ueber den Urspr. des Dagesch forte conjunctivum* (Ztschr. für d. ältest. Wissensch., 1883; pp. 17-31). Idem, *Ueber den Einfluss des Accentues auf die Vocalenfaltung nach Gutturalen* (ibid., pp. 211-219); Idem, *Das Imperfectum* יִכְתֹּב (ibid., pp. 52-55). (2) Theodor Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur semitischen Grammatik. I. Die Verba "ו" im Hebräischen* (Ztschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch. xxxvii. [1883], pp. 525-540). (3) Wilhelm Jenrich, *Der Pluralis fractus im Hebr.*; Halle, 1883; Inaugural Dissertation. (4) Ernst Schwabe ? *nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauche im ältest. Kanon gewürdigt*; Halle, 1883; Inaugural Dissertation.

Among the VERSIONS of the Old Testament, that known as the *Septuagint* is confessedly the most important, albeit next to nothing has hitherto been done for the restoration of a pure text. MSS. have indeed been collected and collated, but no one has submitted the material in hand to a searching criticism. The great merit of having pointed out and entered upon the right path belongs to P. de Lagarde (*Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniorum Pars prior Græce, Pauli de Lagarde studio et sumptibus edita*. Göttingæ: Dieterich, 1883; pp. xvi., 544, 4to [20 Marks]).¹ Before one can attempt to reconstruct the original text of the LXX., one must be acquainted with the later recensions of Lucianus, Hesychius, Origen. De Lagarde has, by dint of acute combination, immense learning, and extraordinary diligence, succeeded in restoring the text of the Syrian presbyter Lucianus (d. 311). In this place, too (comp. also *Theol. Literaturbl.*, 1884, No. 38), I would give expression to the wish that the first volume, which alone has appeared as yet, may find many purchasers; that the author, who is publishing at his own expense, may be in a position to bring out the second half of his important work.—Ad. Merx, Professor at Heidelberg, in his treatise (*Der Werth der Septuaginta für die Textkritik des A.T. am Ezechiel aufgezeigt*) [Jahrb. für Prot. Theol., 1883; pp. 65-77] has laboured to show that the said Greek version possesses a far higher value for the emendation of the Hebrew text of the original than was thought by Rud. Smend in his commentary on Ezekiel (Leipzig, 1880); but it appears to me that

¹ Comp. Paul de Lagarde, *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griech. Uebersetzung des A. T.* Göttingen, 1882; 4to. pp. 64.

Merx has fallen into the opposite extreme.—K. A. Vollers (*Das Dodekapropheten der Alexandriner. Erste Hälfte.* Berlin, 1880; pp. iv., 80. — Continuation in *Ztschr. für die A. T. Wissensch.*, 1883; pp. 219–272; End, *ibid.*, 1884; pp. 1–20) has submitted the text of the Twelve Minor Prophets in the version of the LXX. to a close examination.—Leo Ziegler, a man who has already deserved well in connexion with these studies, has published fragments of a Latin translation of the Pentateuch, in many respects interesting, which was made before the time of Jerome (*Bruchstücke einer vorhieronymianischen Uebersetzung des Pent.* München, 1883; pp. vi., xxx., 88; 4to).—It is a very gratifying fact that the edition of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, brought to a standstill by the death of Heinr. Petermann, is being carried through the press by the well-qualified Samaritan scholar, Dr. Vollers (*Pentateuchus Samaritanus*, III. *Leviticus, quem . . . typis describendum curavit C. Vollers.* Berolini, W. Moeser, 1883; pp. 261–348).—Ceriani's photo-lithographic edition of the Syriac version of the Old Testament, known as the *Peshittha* (*Translatio syra Pescitto V^a T^a ex codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI. photolithographice edita curante et adnotante A. M. Ceriani.* Mediolani, 1876–1883; 2 vols. fol.) is now, with the exception of the notes, brought to completion. Of the work of the Bible revision in Germany I will give an account in a brief separate article.

Of the domain of the so-called LOWER TEXT-CRITICISM we have here only to mention H. Guthe's writing, concerning the strips of leather, inscribed with excerpts from Deuteronomy, which were brought to Europe by M. W. Shapira in June, 1883 (Herm. Guthe, *Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift, enthaltend Mose's letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel, Mitgetheilt u. geprüft.* Leipzig, 1883; pp. iv., 94 [2 Marks]). We can only regret that so much diligence was wasted upon so unworthy an object. I was the first in Europe who saw these fragments, and at once said to their possessor that they were only a modern forgery, giving him at the same time my reasons for this judgment.¹

As I shall have occasion in my next review to speak of the *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums* of Ed. Riehm, now at length completed, I have on this occasion only to mention the *Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, in its second,

¹ Comp. my letter in the *Times* of Sept. 4th, 1883 (*Theol. Literaturbl.*, 1883, No. 40).

enlarged edition, amended throughout, begun by the late J. J. Herzog and the late G. L. Plitt; continued by Alb. Hauck. Vol. xi. (Oetinger—Pius I.), pp. 806; vol. xii. (Pius II.—Ring), pp. 804. Leipzig, 1883. [For the future we shall use the abbreviation PRE].—The most important articles, besides those afterwards referred to, are: xi., Opfer, Passah, Philister, Palästina; xii., Polyglottenbibeln, Priestertum, Prophetentum, Reinigungen.

EXEGESIS AND CRITICISM.—Although the *Collegium Biblicum* of Aug. Friedr. Christian Vilmar (Pract. Exposn. of O. and N.T. Edited by Christian Müller. Gütersloh, 1881–1883) contributes nothing to the advance of science, it is yet worthy of attention on the part of the clergy, on account of numerous remarks of good practical application.—Aug. Dillmann has published anew his recast of Knobel's commentary on Genesis (*Die Genesis erklärt*. 4^e Auflage. Leipzig, Hirzel, 1882). As from all other works of Dillmann, so from this also, much is to be learnt (equally great diligence has been applied to the explanation of words and things as to the textual criticism); yet he places too much confidence in the certainty of the critical analysis, and—as it seems to us—concedes too much to Wellhausen on many points. Karl Budde is an adherent of Wellhausen. In his very diffuse book on the Primeval History (*Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, Gen. i.–xii. 5, *untersucht* [in the appendix the attempt is made to restore the earliest form of the history], Giessen, 1883) he claims, so to speak, “to hear the grass grow,” and will demonstrate things which are undemonstrable, and with the material we at present possess must remain so. We gladly acknowledge, however, that many a useful observation has been made by the acute young scholar. François Lenormant,¹ too (*La Genèse. Traduction d'après l'hébreu*, etc. Paris, 1883; pp. 364), finally represented the codex of the priests as having a later origin than the writing of the Jahvist and that of the Deuteronomist; with respect to the absolute age of the sources, a judgment cannot yet in his opinion be formed.—H. Strack (Herm. L. Strack, *Pentateuch*; PRE². xi., 437–460) has set forth the present position of the Pentateuch-criticism; and, without seeking to augment the great number of the existing hypotheses by a new one, has shown that weighty arguments plead against the view of Vatke, Graf, Reuss, Wellhausen, and others, now almost exclusively prevailing in Germany.

¹ Died Dec. 9th, 1883.

H. Vuilleumier, Prof. at Lausanne, in his articles, which have appeared up to March, 1884 (*La critique du Pentateuque dans sa phase actuelle* [Revue de Theologie et de Philosophie, Janvier, 1882, Mars, 1884; pp. 204]), pursues in the main the object of proving to his readers, of the French tongue, the untenableness of the traditional view that Moses was the author of the whole Pentateuch. On the other hand, its Mosaic authorship is contended for more or less by E. Böhl, Prof. at Vienna *Zum Gesetz und zum Zeugniß*, Vienna, 1883; pp. 231), Fr. Roos (*Die Geschichtlichkeit des Pentateuchs, insbesondere seiner Gesetzgebung. Eine Prüfung der Wellhausen'schen Hypothese*. Stuttg., 1883; pp. 168), who combat that theory as to the origin of the Pentateuch which is ordinarily named after Graf and Wellhausen. The work of Böhl possesses hardly any value for science, because the author, while contending with dogmatic arguments, has no eye at all for that which is advanced by the opposite party. Simultaneously in the main with these controverting writings, at any rate without allusion to them, appeared the second edition of Wellhausen's first volume of the History of Israel (J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. Zweite Ausgabe der Gesch. Isr.*, Band I. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1883; pp. x., 455), provided with a title better descriptive of the contents. Chapter viii. (*Die Erzählung des Hexateuchs*) has been remoulded, and thereby rendered considerably clearer; in other respects not much has been altered.

Of the commentary of Ernst Bertheau (Prof. at Göttingen) on Judges and Ruth, published in 1845, we have to speak of a second, and essentially improved edition, brought out by the author himself (*Das Buch der Richter und Ruth erklärt*. 2 Aufl. Leipzig, Hirzel, 1883; pp. 316 [vol. vi. of the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisch. Handbuch zum A.T.*]).—As of the prophetic historic books, so also of the prophetic admonitory writings, there is but little to report in this place. Himpel, Catholic Prof. at Tübingen, elucidated the historic section of Isaiah, chap. xxxvi.-xxxix., by means of the Assyrian Cuneiform Inscriptions (*Der geschichtliche Abschnitt Jesaja, Kap. 36-39. Erläuterungen desselben durch assyrische Keil-Inschriften* [Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschr., 1883; pp. 582-653]). C. H. Cornill, Private Teacher at Marburg, published a warmly, almost enthusiastically, written lecture on the work and book of the prophet Ezekiel (*Der Prophet Ezechiel*. Heidelberg, 1882; pp. 53). Kühn's explanation of some difficult sections of the same prophet, called forth by his co-operation in the

work of revising Luther's translation of the Bible, is to be received with gratitude (Ernst Kühn, *Ezechiel's Gesicht vom Tempel der Vollendungszeit*. Gotha, 1882; pp. 92). The arguments of G. Hoffmann, Prof. at Kiel, on some passages of Amos (*Versuche zu Amos* [Ztschr. für die alttestam. Wissensch., 1883; pp. 87-126]), likewise merit attention.

There lies before us the fourth edition of Franz Delitzsch's Commentary on the Psalms (*Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen*. Leipzig, 1883. [A volume of the well known Old Testament Commentary of Keil and Delitzsch]), for which, in addition to the other products of science, notably the results of Assyriology have been turned to account. A supplement to this Commentary is formed by the article *Psalmen* in the Prot. Realencyklopädie (Franz Delitzsch, *Psalmen*; PRE³, xii., 308-335). The work of H. Grätz (*Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen, nebst Text und Uebersetzg.* Breslau, 1882-3; pp. 701), abounding as it does in conjectures, is rather suggestive than convincing. Grill's interpretation of the difficult Psalm lxxviii. (Julius Grill, *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf seine alten Uebersetzer u. neuere Ausleger*. Tübingen, 1883), will prove a mine of information to every expositor of the Psalms, even to those who do not accept the conclusions of the author.

Those who are occupied with the Book of Proverbs would do well to consult the little volume of Dyserinck (Johannes Dyserinck, *Het Boek der Spreuken, uit het Hebreewsch opnieuw vertaald*, etc. Haarlem, 1883). The second edition of Bertheau on Proverbs, and Hitzig on Ecclesiastes, has been brought out by W. Nowack, Prof. at Strasburg, who makes a judicious use of that which has been furnished by others (Ernst Bertheau, *Die Sprüche Salomo's. In zweiter Aufl. herausgeg. von W. Nowack.*—F. Hitzig, *Der Prediger Salomo's. 2e Aufl.* Leipzig, Hirzel, 1883). The first of the two ingenious dissertations of P. Kleinert, Prof. at Berlin, mentioned in the subjoined note,¹ was called forth more particularly by the English writings of Thomas Tyler and Dean Plumptre on the book of Koheleth. Fraidl's work² is an interesting contribution to the history of the exegesis of the Old Testament.

¹ P. Kleinert, *Sind im Buche Koheleth ausserhebräische Einflüsse anzuerkennen?* (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken, 1883; pp. 761-782). Idem, *Prediger Salomo* (PRE³, xii., 169-175).

² Franz Fraidl, *Die Exegese der siebenzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit*. Graz, 1883.

In the provinces of Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic literature we have the researches of Cæsar Seligmann (*Das Buch der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach [Joshua ben Sira] in seinem Verhältniss*, etc. Breslau, 1883), Bernhard Pick, Alleghany, Pa. (*The Psalter of Solomon*. Presbyter. Rev., 1883; pp. 775-812), and Aug. Dillmann (*Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. PRE³, xii, 341-367).

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, and GEOGRAPHY. The work of Eberhard Schrader, indispensable for the study of the Old Testament (*Die Keilinschriften u. das A. T. Mit einem Beitrage von Paul Haupt*. 2nd edition, remodelled and greatly enlarged. Giessen, 1883), will be already known to most of the readers of the EXPOSITOR from its English translation. It thus suffices here to call attention to the issue of this edition. The time for an encyclopædia of Semitic science is in our opinion not yet come; yet it must be conceded to the book of Fritz Hommel, Private Teacher at Munich (*Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, etc. Leipzig, 1883), that everything is done in it which, in the present condition of the science—particularly of Assyriology—could be done by a single person. As regards the Biblical chronology, all experts are agreed that there are errors in the numerals which have come down to us in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. As to the number of errors however, and still more as to the mode of correcting them, they are at variance. This uncertainty will remain until the material necessary for correcting the Biblical numbers shall have been furnished to us by the Assyrian or Egyptian monuments. On this account the attempts made by Adolf Kamphausen, Prof. at Bonn (*Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige*, Bonn, 1883), and F. E. König (*Beiträge zur biblischen Chronologie*. *Ztschr. für kirchl. Wissensch. und kirchl. Leben*, 1883), although distinguished above many others by sobriety, can hardly lead to the fixing of even an approximately certain chronology. Of the abundant geographical literature we mention here only two works. The *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, edited by Hermann Guthe, has appeared from the year 1882 (vol. vi, Leipzig, 1883), and presents, in addition to valuable original papers, an annual "report of new publications in the domain of Palestine literature," by Prof. A. Socin of Tübingen. The work edited by Ebers and Guthe (*Palästina in Wort und Bild. Nebst der Sinaihalbinsel und dem Lande Gosen*), although strictly a recast of an English book, deserves mention in this place, because

the above-named scholars have done much in the way of amendment and addition.

That BIBLICAL THEOLOGY may not come off quite empty-handed in this review, we mention—last, but not least—the work of Ed. König, published as early as 1882, in which particularly the personal testimonies of the prophets, with regard to the revelations vouchsafed to them, are very carefully examined (Friedrich Eduard König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments*. Leipzig, 1882. 2 vols. pp. 212, 410).

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BREVIA.

Bishop Temple on the Relations between Religion and Science.—The most admirable point of these lectures is their very thorough and lucid statement of the *status questionis*. The whole ground is traversed with complete appreciation of the main difficulties, and with wide knowledge of the modern answers to them. *The Bampton Lecture for 1884*, indeed, may be said to embody the results of all recent speculation upon the problem—is in fact a tide-mark indicating the levels reached by the maturest speculation up to this time. On one point, that of the probable naturalness of the miraculous, there is a distinct advance at least in firmness and boldness of statement; and certainly the distinctively moral aspects of religion have never been brought out with more clearness or enforced with greater purity and dignity of expression.

Whether this is the whole truth, however, regarding the relations of Science and Religion is a question. We are inclined to think it is not. Valid as are the distinctions drawn by Bishop Temple, the mere difficulty of grasping them, and the innumerable philosophical questions that arise all along the line, suggest the doubt as to whether the standpoint from which the subject is viewed can be the final one. Philosophical examinations of the relations of Science and Religion proceed upon the supposition that the field of knowledge is a plane divided into different departments, one for Theology, one for Philosophy, one for Science, and so on. The effort is then made to trace and fix the boundaries of the several domains—a process apparently satisfactory enough,

and yielding results up to a certain point. That point is attained, and very admirably attained, in the lectures before us. Yet, as we have hinted, the final result is somehow unsatisfying, and the impression remains that something at once more simple and more decisive might be reached from a different standpoint. We would not presume in the present state of the discussion to offer the following as more than a suggestion; but the difficulties of the old position justify every attempt to get more out of the subject from other points of view.

To the non-astronomical eye the various constellations appear projected on a uniform black dome. Two stars twinkle side by side, and the impression they give to the mind is that they are in the same plane and near neighbours. Yet any attempt from this standpoint to define their relations to one another, though satisfactory enough up to a point, would certainly be defective, seeing that in reality they are probably millions of miles apart. Not that they may not be almost touching each other in *one* plane, but yet at the same time one may be millions of miles, as it were, *above* the other, behind the other, farther out than the other. Now the relations of Science and Religion may be something like this. Taking the field of knowledge to be a plane, to contrast two different departments as if they were adjacent will yield undoubted results. Points of difference, and points of contact will certainly be apparent. But suppose we arrange the different spheres of knowledge not in a plane, but *in series*. Suppose we arrange them, not as so many squares on a chess-board, or as so many stars on a uniform dome, but as high, higher, and highest. We should have here, as it were, a new dimension to take into account; and if this dimension be the most important of all, it is clear how much all observations must lack, however skilfully the case may be stated in terms of the other dimensions, which ignore this one. The mere arranging of the fields of knowledge in evolutionary series, when that is accomplished, may yet show the true relations of Science and Religion at a glance, and save the laboured expositions which we are now compelled to resort to. We would venture therefore to propose that the whole question of the relations of Science and Religion should be approached, not in the first instance from philosophy, but from the standpoint of the Classification of the Sciences—of a new Classification of the Sciences from the standpoint of Evolution.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

The Sealing of the Heavenly Bread. John vi. 27. "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endures unto everlasting life which the Son of man shall give to you, *for Him hath God the Father sealed*" (τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ Θεός). The use of σφραγίζω (natural in iii. 33, where it means *confirm*), is puzzling in this place. Delitzsch in the *Old Testament Student*, Sept. 1883, gives with his approval the suggestion of a Jewish correspondent in Wilna. In Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament the passage reads כִּי בּוֹ הָיָה חֻקְמוֹ אֶבְי אֱבִי הַלֵּלִים. In the language of the Mishna the baker is called חֻקֵּם. The correspondent suggests that he is named thus because he impresses his seal upon the bread, and that in the original text the seal referred to the meat (bread). The latter suggestion Delitzsch considers unnecessary. "The Lord compares Himself to a heavenly meat, and as such He is, as He says, sealed by the Father." Thus He may have had in His mind the custom of bakers of which their name is at least a reminder.

EDITOR.

Alphæus and Klopas. The various theories which have been invented to explain the relationship of the brethren of our Lord to their Master may be classified under two divisions. (1) Those that distinguish the sons of Alphæus from our Lord's brethren. (2) Those that presuppose their identity. Under the first head are: (i.) the Heladian theory, which supposes them to have been His uterine brothers, children of Joseph and Mary; (ii.) the Epiphanian, which supposes them to have been children of Joseph and an earlier wife. Under the second head are: (i.) the Hieronymian, which makes them His cousins german, sons of Alphæus and the Virgin's sister Mary; (ii.) Lange's theory that they were His cousins german, sons of Clopas, said by Hegesippus to have been Joseph's brother; and (iii.) the Theophylactian, according to which they were both His brothers and cousins, the sons of Joseph by a levirate marriage with the widow of his brother Clopas. The arguments for the second class of theories rest on the identification of Clopas and Alphæus; for they all turn on the identity of the names assigned in the Gospels to the sons of Alphæus and the Lord's brethren alike. But the New Testament tells us of only two sons of Alphæus, James, and Levi or Matthew; and the first step in gaining more to accord with the list of Matt.

xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3, turns on identifying Alphæus with Clopas, and thus the James of Alphæus (Matt. x. 3) with the James of Mary (John xix. 25). Again, with the supporters of the Hieronymian theory the sole evidence of the cousinship of the sons of Alphæus to our Lord turns on his identification with Clopas. Now it has been usually claimed and admitted that the two names were the same—diverse transliterations into Greek of the one Aramaic name 'ܐܠܦܗܐ. But Wetzel in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1883 (620-6), contends elaborately that as representation of 'ܐܠܦܗܐ Κλωπας fails in almost every one of its letters. The Greek κ is not used to transliterate the initial Hebrew פ. There is no accounting for the spreading of the syllable פ into the soundless κλ—nor for the subintroduction of the long vowel ω—nor for π instead of φ as in Alphæus. A note is added from Delitzsch, who affirms that Alphæus is Hebrew, while Klopas is Greek and identical with Cleopas—both being abbreviations of Cleopatros. Riehm concurs, and Prof. Warfield, in the *Independent*, says that while in his view the identity hypothesis did not need another deathblow, this argument is absolutely final. Thus our Lord's brethren were either, (1) the children of Joseph and Mary, or (2) the children of Joseph and an earlier wife.

EDITOR.

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- I. The First Love and Hope in Thessalonica.
The Epistles to the Thessalonians.
BY REV. PROFESSOR F. GODET, D.D.
- II. The Contribution of Science to Christianity, II.
BY PROFESSOR HENRY DRUMMOND.
- III. The Aim, Importance, Difficulties and Best Method of
Systematic Theology.
BY REV. JOSEPH AGAR BEET.
- IV. Joseph and Mary.
BY REV. ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D.
- V. The Epistle to the Colossians.
2. The Prelude.
BY REV. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.
- VI. The Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Testament.
BY REV. PROFESSOR B. B. WARFIELD, D.D.
- VII. Recent English Literature on the New Testament.
BY REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.
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THE FIRST LOVE AND HOPE IN THESSALONICA.

(FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.)

A FULL-GROWN and living Church established in the course of three or four weeks,—this is doubtless a unique fact in missionary annals; such success astonishes St. Paul himself, and he sees there the undeniable proof of God's special intervention. "Knowing, brethren beloved of God, your election, because our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness, even as ye know what manner of men we showed ourselves toward you for your sake." The Apostle had distinctly felt God's power working amongst them through him, and their election had been revealed to his heart in the very fact of that powerful co-operation.

It was now at least fifteen years since St. Paul had been called both to the personal acceptance of the Gospel and to the preaching of that Gospel to others; he had thereby become an apostle, and during three years he had taught his new creed at Damascus and in Arabia. In so doing he had become strengthened in his attachment to Jesus, and had grown in his close communion. After these beginnings, he went to Jerusalem, re-entering for the first time the city which he had left as a zealous Pharisee and persecutor of Christ. His stay there was but short: obedient to a Divine dispensation and to the advice of the other apostles, he returned for a time to Tarsus, his native town. It has often been denied that the quotations from Greek poets which are to be found in St. Paul's writings, are proofs of

his having had a certain degree of Greek culture, and to support this denial, it has been asserted that he was too young when brought to Jerusalem and there educated to have previously imbibed the elements of profane literature. But those who maintain this view forget this sojourn of St. Paul's at Tarsus, when he must at least have been considerably over thirty, since before the age of thirty he would hardly have been sent on a mission to Damascus as delegate of the Sanhedrin. During the few years which he now spent with his relatives, waiting until God should call him to his work among the Gentiles, he had time to acquire a good knowledge of literature, and no doubt tried to do so, in order to be more fit for the work which lay before him. The literary resources of his native town, at that time a rival of Athens and Alexandria, would therefore, no doubt, be made use of by him as far as this was possible for a Jew. This period of waiting was, however, soon brought to a close by Barnabas coming to claim St. Paul's services in favour of the recently founded Church of Antioch. This Church was the first Christian community composed for the greater part of converted pagans, and seems to have been destined to become the starting-point of the activity of St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. The Divine call to begin a distinctly missionary work was not, therefore, long wanting in the midst of this flourishing Church, and about the year A.D. 45, Barnabas and Paul were ordained as missionary apostles by the laying on of hands, and sent on their first errand into the pagan world. Their travels in Cyprus and in the southern provinces of Asia Minor appear to have detained them some years. On their return the two missionaries had to go to Jerusalem in order to have an important question settled, namely, whether Christian communities formed of newly converted pagans were to be subjected to the law of Moses. The apostles and the mother Church having decided in favour of the liberty of pagan

converts (Gal. ii. 1-10), Paul again left Antioch for a second missionary voyage, accompanied this time by Silas, a prophet of the Church at Jerusalem. They began by visiting together those Churches in Asia Minor to which St. Paul's first journey had given birth, taking with them Timothy, a young member of one of these Churches, and, without remaining long anywhere except in Galatia, where an illness obliged St. Paul to stay some time, they arrived, compelled as it were by God Himself, at Troas, at the western extremity of Asia Minor. There they found a physician named Luke, probably already a believer, which fact can easily be accounted for if, according to an old tradition, he was really a native of Antioch ; at the Divine summons, all four crossed the channel which divides Asia from Europe, and, arriving at Philippi, founded there the first European Church. This probably took place in the autumn of the year A.D. 52. St. Paul did not stay long at Philippi ; he, together with Silas and Timothy, soon left this city, bearing in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus, and went on to Thessalonica, three days' journey to the west of Philippi, and capital of the second district of Macedonia. Instead of being, like the former, an entirely Roman town, peopled by veteran soldiers, Thessalonica was a rich and commercial Greek city, and, situated as it was, at the end of the gulf formed by the peninsula of Mount Athos, possessing an excellent harbour, it might be considered, as it were, the Trieste of that period. A flourishing colony of Jews were settled in the midst of this commercial Greek population, and, enjoying many more advantages than did their poorer and less numerous brethren who lived at Philippi, they had built for themselves a synagogue. Hither, according to the mode of action which he had adopted from the first, St. Paul at once came in order to begin his missionary work in Thessalonica. Not only were the Jews of the place to be found assembled there,—those Jews whom he considered

as having a right to be first offered the blessings of the Gospel,¹—but with them came many heathens who, disgusted with their ancient superstitions, had found in the Jewish monotheism the purer religious atmosphere they had longed for. This interesting part of the population formed, as it were, a bridge providentially placed as a help to the Apostles in spanning the abyss which separated paganism from Judaism.

The success of the Apostle's preaching at Thessalonica was wonderful, especially among those proselytes, and among their still heathen fellow-citizens. Not only did some of the poorer classes accept the Gospel, but many belonging to the wealthiest families of high rank were, by baptism, admitted into the Church, and not more than three sabbaths had elapsed before a numerous and flourishing Christian community was formed. Such success provoked violent irritation on the part of the Jewish population, who, bribing some men of the very lowest class, contrived to excite a tumult in the city. Having failed in their object of possessing themselves of Paul's person, they dragged his host, a Jew named Jason, before the rulers of the city, who obliged him to give security for the tranquillity of the town, since the Jews accused Paul of setting up another king in opposition to Cæsar, because he had spoken of Christ's second coming; as though they themselves had not been anxiously awaiting the coming of the Messiah!

Being anxious to avoid bringing his Thessalonian friends into trouble, St. Paul left the city and its beloved Church after a stay of about four weeks; and, going thence towards the south, stopped first at Beroëa, then at Athens, and finally fixed his abode for the time being at Corinth. He had left behind him his two companions, as they were to visit once more the young Churches at Philippi and Thessalonica and bring back an account of how they were pros-

¹ Rom. i. 16. "To the Jew *first* and also to the Greek."

pering. We can easily imagine the anxiety and impatience with which St. Paul was awaiting their return at Corinth, and the joy with which he welcomed them and gathered from their lips all they had to tell of the steadfastness, activity, and perseverance of the Macedonian converts. We seem to hear, as it were, the joyful report of Silas and Timothy, and the Apostle's ejaculation of thanksgiving, when we read these words in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians iii. 6-8, "Now, when Timothy came unto us from you, and brought us glad tidings of your faith and love, we were comforted over you, brethren, in all our distress and affliction, through your faith; for *now we live*, if ye stand fast in the Lord." The long, anxious waiting had been to him as a cessation of life, but on hearing the words, "all is well, our Thessalonians stand fast," life had resumed its natural course. It was then, no doubt, that he wrote his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, in the spring of the year A.D. 53, a few months after he had left their city. Traces relating to this precise period can be found in the 18th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, at the 5th verse: "And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ;" he had gained new strength for his apostolic duties.

Under these circumstances what would St. Paul's letter be most likely to contain? An answer to Timothy's report. Why do not we say, and why does the Apostle not say: "the report of Timothy *and of Silas*"? Doubtless because the latter had not returned, as the former had done, from visiting the Thessalonians, or at any rate, not so recently.

The epistle begins as though coming from the three men who had together laid the foundations of the Church at Thessalonica, for St. Paul always behaved with the greatest tact and delicacy in regard to his fellow-workers, never failing to let those who had shared with him the labour and

the peril, share the honour also. This juxtaposition of the three names of Paul, Silas or Silvanus, and Timothy, at the beginning of the epistle, is precisely what prevents our fixing any other period than the one we have mentioned for the writing of this letter, as, after this sojourn at Corinth, these three men never happened to be together again, Silas having left St. Paul in order to help St. Peter in his missionary work (1 Peter v. 12).

The first three chapters are an outpouring of the Apostle's heart and of those of his two fellow-workers towards that young Church so full of strength and courage, but exposed to so many kinds of persecution and suffering for the sake of the Gospel. As usual, St. Paul begins by giving vent to the feelings of thankfulness which fill his heart to overflowing whenever he recalls the wonderful results of his short stay at Thessalonica, the rapid development of a Church in which abound faith, hope and charity, those blessed fruits of the Gospel (i. 3). This reminds him of the two facts which can alone explain so extraordinary a success: the marvellous power which possessed him while he was preaching the word to them (ver. 4 and 5), and the joyful eagerness with which they accepted that preaching (ver. 6).

Their election has thus become a fact of his own personal experience, and they are now a pattern to the other Churches, so that in this city of Corinth, where he is now staying, he has no need to publish the Divine work wrought amongst them, for their opponents (the Jews) have themselves spread abroad the report from synagogue to synagogue even unto Achaia (ver. 7-10).¹

But as St. Paul is well aware of the calumnies these very men have been circulating against him, he goes on

¹ The pronoun *they themselves* is related to no substantive in the preceding verse; but the readers were sure to understand who he meant by that word: *they themselves*.

to remind the Thessalonians of what his own life has been amongst them, and speaks freely of his unselfish and loving conduct of which they have been witnesses (ii. 1-12). Then he joyfully describes how their faithfulness, and especially their patience, have answered to his devotedness, as their conversion had before answered to his preaching (13-16). Therefore his love for them has not varied since the day of his departure from among them, in proof of which he tells them that he has once or twice tried to visit them again, but that, not having been able to do so, he sent Timothy unto them, although he himself had thereby remained alone in Athens. Now, since Timothy's return, new life has gladdened his spirit at hearing the good report given of them, and he beseeches God incessantly that he may be permitted to see them again (ii. 17-iii. to end). Truly, no father could write more tenderly to his absent children! After this out-pouring, which is a thanksgiving from beginning to end, the Apostle goes on to treat of those matters which are the real object of his epistle, and which were certainly suggested to him by Timothy's report. First come three exhortations, bearing on the three special dangers to which the young community might be exposed in the midst of a corrupt and commercial Greek city: on purity of life (iv. 1-5), on honesty and good faith (6-8), and on brotherly love (9-12). In the last two or three verses, St. Paul alludes to a rather uncommon sin, that of an idle life, in which a man, instead of working for his livelihood, is content to wait for whatever help may come to him from others. This is rather strange; does it mean that even at that early period abuse was made of Christian charity? Perhaps; yet this warning will doubtless be best understood if considered, by a natural association of ideas, as a transition introducing the next subject. In the chapters iv. 13-v. 11 St. Paul passes on from exhortation to teaching, and speaks of the second coming of

Christ from two different points of view ; first, as it regards a special preoccupation of the Thessalonians (iv. 13-18) ; secondly, in a more general acceptation (v. 1-11) ; and if this portion be read together with the last verses of the preceding exhortation, it will appear likely that the carelessness with which many attended to the affairs of this life was due to the religious effervescence created by their expectation of the Great Day.

In iv. 13-18 St. Paul answers the anxious thoughts which were saddening many, and which Timothy had certainly mentioned to him : viz. At the Lord's great advent, should those amongst them who had died before be deprived of participating in the Church's joyful and triumphant union with its Head ? For this would certainly take place on earth where Christ is to appear again. The Apostle is not opposed to their entertaining this glorious expectation, but he explains more precisely the way in which the event will take place, so as to dispel all anxiety in his readers' minds. Together with the signal of the Lord's reappearance, those who have died in the Lord will, first of all, rise from their graves ; after that, those who belong to Christ and are still alive on earth will be caught up to meet Him, and together they shall remain with Him eternally. This answer leaves many questions unsolved, and St. Paul evidently does not mean to touch upon any other point than the one which especially interested the Thessalonians. And this is consistent with his usual mode of treating every subject ; he never carries it further than the precise need requires. In 1 Cor. xv. he gives a further particular by announcing a transformation of the body which will take place in the living members of Christ on earth at the same time as the resurrection of those already dead. But this detail is there closely connected with the subject treated in that chapter, that of the resurrection of the body. It would seem as though

he meant that the contact of the glorified Saviour with the earth will be but for an instant, and that, as the consequence of this sudden apparition, His reunion with the elect will be perfected in a sphere above this visible world. The Apostle declares at the same time, that what he says here is not as coming from him, but from the Lord. Does he mean to allude thereby, as some have thought, to words which were uttered by Jesus Christ on earth? If so, it could only be to the verses in Matt. xxiv. 30, 31; but nothing is here said of what St. Paul specially bears upon, the distinction between two classes of believers—the dead, which are raised up, and the living, who are caught up. We think therefore that St. Paul rather alludes to a special revelation which has been vouchsafed to him, in the same way as when he speaks of a special mystery having been revealed to him (1 Cor. xv. 51; Rom. xi. 25).

After this, he enlarges the circle of his teaching on the Lord's second coming, and speaks in the next verses of Christ's advent in a more general acceptation. He reminds his readers that he has already instructed them upon this matter, and this time only urges earnestly upon them the duty which must result from this solemn expectation; namely, that of living continually in the light of holiness and of Divine life, this being the light which will illumine the earth at Christ's reappearance. They need not then be afraid of the Great Day taking them by surprise, as it will the rest of the world plunged deep in carnal security. Perhaps St. Paul here alludes to the state of the world as described by our Lord in Luke xvii. 26–37; compare this with Matt. xxiv. 37–44.

The Apostle ends his twofold teaching by exhorting his readers to watch over each other, to honour those who are in authority over them, to keep alive in their hearts the flame of spiritual life (joy, prayer, constant thanksgiving), not to quench the manifestations of the Holy

Spirit in their assemblies, and finally to work at their own perfect sanctification, body, soul, and spirit, trusting the while in God's faithful help.

It will be seen that the Church's constant thought was of the Lord's re-appearance, which was believed to be very near at hand, and that this expectancy even caused some of its members to stray out of the sober, austere path of their earthly duties. St. Paul alludes to these people both before and after his treatment of the subject (iv. 11, 12, and v. 14) for the term of *disorderly* in this last verse, precisely designates people of that sort (compare 2 Thess. iii. 6, 11). It even seems to me probable that when, in v. 19, 20, he exhorts the Thessalonians not to "despise prophesyings," and not to "quench the Spirit;" these warnings were prompted by the sort of discredit which was thrown on unusual manifestations of the Spirit by the irregular and not entirely honourable conduct of those enthusiasts who, while desirous of acting the part of prophets and of privileged instruments of the Holy Spirit, neglected the simplest duties of their earthly calling. St. Paul feared that such conduct might create a feeling of repulsion on the part of the majority in the Church and might lead to their depriving themselves of the blessings resulting from a normal use of these spiritual gifts. But how are we to consider his doctrine on the second coming of Christ? He, as well as the Church, appears to consider it as being close at hand; he even seems to think that he, Paul, will be among those surviving believers who are to witness the event. "We," says he, "that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord . . . shall, together with them (those risen from the dead) be caught up in the clouds" (iv. 15, 17).

The whole primitive Church, including the apostles, certainly expected this event to take place sooner than has proved to be the case in reality. Christ had foretold that

it was to be, but not *when* it was to be ; He had expressly declared that He did not Himself know the day of His return, and this is the more striking from its contrast with the words by which He announced that the destruction of Jerusalem should happen in the time of the generation then living. See Matt. xxiii. 35-37, and Luke xi. 49-51, where none of the difficulties can be found which have been adduced with regard to Matt. xxiv. 34, and Luke xxi. 32. Our Lord had often spoken of the Bridegroom as "tarrying," as perhaps only coming "in the morning" when no one would be expecting Him any longer (Mark xiii. 35). But in order to describe the moral state of the Church during that period of waiting, he had added that, by reason of the very uncertainty about the day, His disciples were to hold themselves in readiness *every* day ; that they were to be like unto a servant waiting for his master, having his loins girded and his lamp burning, and ready, when he knocketh, straightway to open unto him (Luke xii. 35, 36). By a not unnatural mental process, the primitive Church turned this spiritual state of expectancy into an actual awaiting of an event that was soon to take place. She was naturally led to that by the prophecies of the Old Testament which, in descriptions telling of the end of days, always showed the judgment of the pagan world as following close on that of Israel, so that it seemed impossible to fancy a new epoch in history beginning after the judgment on Jerusalem,—a heathen world Christianized and having nothing more to do with Israel. Prophecies only see the future foreshortened as it were, the great epochs being brought near to each other and the intervals between left out. For prophecy is not history, and sometimes appears guilty of chronological mistakes which are, nevertheless, deep moral truths. As to the words by which the Apostle seems to rank himself among those still living at the time of Christ's advent ; if, while attributing that

sense to the expression "*we* that are alive, that are left," we were to take the word literally, we should have to apply it to all the believers who were living at the time when St. Paul wrote the epistle, and maintain that he expected none of them to die until our Lord's return, which would be making him guilty of an absurdity. In this expression "*that are alive*," the words must evidently be applied, not to the Christians *living* (at this present moment) but to those who *will be alive* (then); that is what St. Paul still further explains by adding the words: "*that are left*" (at that time). Therefore these words "that are alive, that are left," must not be considered as qualifying, but rather as explaining, the pronoun *we*: "We," I mean those "that are alive, that are left" at that time. In other words: Those among *us*, Christians, who will be alive at that supreme moment. Otherwise, how could the Apostle, in other epistles, rank himself (eventually) among those who will be raised from the dead (1 Cor. vi. 14, and 2 Cor. iv. 14, and Phil. iii. 11), and again, in other places, use an undecided mode of expression (2 Cor. v. 6-10; Phil. i. 21 and following verses; Phil. ii. 17). He is evidently only sure of one thing: that there will be two classes of believers—those that shall be raised from the dead, and those whose body shall be changed at the same moment; but to which of the two classes he will belong, of that he knows nothing, nor could he decide the question without determining what, according to his belief, is to be left undetermined. For, to speak of himself positively as forming part of either the one or the other, would be, in the one case, to fix the day of Christ's second coming within the space of his own lifetime, or in the other to declare that it would *not* take place within that period. He would consequently be himself doing what he forbids others to do (v. 1-2).

It was probably only a few months later that St. Paul

completed this first epistle by a second, which has also been preserved to us. It is addressed to the Church at Thessalonica, in the same way as the first one, by Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, which proves it to have been dated from the same visit to Corinth during which the first was written, since only then did these three men happen to be together. Some have tried to prove that the second Epistle to the Thessalonians was really written first; but this critical fancy has not met with approval, and in fact, the Apostle expressly mentions his first letter in this second one: "Hold the traditions which ye were taught, whether by word, or *by epistle of ours*" (ii. 15). Moreover, in the second epistle hardly any allusion is made to St. Paul's stay at Thessalonica, while the first teems with such recollections (chap. i. 3.) and is therefore surely the one which followed most closely on the Apostle's departure from that city. Finally it must be evident to all, that the situation referred to in what we consider the second epistle, is in every way aggravated. Persecution has grown more vehement, for during the whole of the first chapter the Apostle encourages the young Christians by showing them, in the very sufferings they are called upon to endure, the pledge of their glorious deliverance at "the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven." The religious enthusiasm or excitement, of which the first symptoms were discernible in the former epistle, has now taken a more alarming character. There St. Paul neither asserted nor denied the *proximity* of the Lord's return; he only declared that its *suddenness* would take the world unawares, and drew from thence the conclusion that incessant vigilance was one of the Christian's first duties. But in the meantime people's minds had become more excited. Prophets, in discourses which seemed to be dictated by the Spirit (ii. 2), had announced that the great catastrophe was not only imminent, but, in some sense, already taking place. Words were

repeated which were attributed to St. Paul; a letter was even circulated amongst them which was said, perhaps only by mistake, to have been written by him, and which expressed the same thoughts. Religious effervescence had come to a sort of paroxysm; an ever-increasing number of Christians gave up all their worldly concerns and duties for the sake of living a life of contemplation, inquisitive idleness, and begging (iii. 7-13). In order, therefore, to abate the intensity of this carnal, rather than spiritual flame, the Apostle is obliged to make use of all the means at his disposal, and the two principal of these are instruction and discipline. He uses the first in chapter ii., and the second in chapter iii.

In chapter ii. he reminds the Thessalonians of what he had already taught when amongst them, namely: that the glorious return of Christ must be preceded and provoked by an appearance of a directly opposite nature, that of *the Man of Sin*. This is evidently the same person as the one spoken of in other parts of the New Testament, and especially in the writings of St. John, as "the anti-christ." *Wrong* must have attained its very apex by the uniting of human wickedness with diabolical malice, for *right* to be able also to assert its final power by the manifestation of holiness at once human and Divine in the person of Christ glorified (ii. 3-5). But the appearance of the man of sin itself pre-supposes two facts which have not yet been realized: *first*, the great falling away of humanity from God who has revealed Himself both in the Jewish and the Christian dispensations; *secondly*, the overthrowing of a power which St. Paul mysteriously designates by the expressions, "*that which restraineth*" (neuter), and "*he that restraineth*" (masculine term). Apostasy is at work already, no doubt, but it is only beginning, and as for the restraining power, only after its overthrow can anti-christ appear and take its place. Nevertheless there is

reason enough for the believer to be watching continually, for the *mystery of iniquity* or *lawlessness* which is finally to give birth to antichrist, being already at work, none may consider themselves safe from the temptations and seductions about to assail them (iii. 7, 10-14).

Who is this "Man of Sin" of whom St. Paul says that he will "set himself forth as God, sitting in the temple of God," and that he will exalt himself against all that is called God, while calling himself God? (ii. 4), and what is this power which restraineth him and which must previously be overthrown? It has been supposed that when he spoke of "the man of sin," the Apostle meant Nero, who was preparing to ascend the imperial throne, and that *he who restrained* was none other than the old emperor Claudius, whose prolonged life was preventing his successor from taking possession of the supreme authority. But Nero was at that time a young man of the greatest promise, therefore the Apostle's words must be considered, either as mere human foresight, and in that case how could he know beforehand of the change for the worse which was to take place in the prince's character, turning him into a persecutor of the Church; or else this is an actual prophecy, and then how could St. Paul have ascribed to him actions of which he was never guilty—for Nero never set himself in the temple of God either in Jerusalem or in a Christian Church. Others again, more numerous than the first, have believed the words to allude to papal power; in that case, who would be the restrainer? It might be the Roman empire, whose overthrow allowed of the development of the new and unexampled power taken by the bishops of Rome. But the description given by St. Paul of the "Man of Sin" cannot, without the sense of the expressions being forced, apply to the Pope, at least such as history has as yet shown him to us. Never has a Pope called himself God, or set himself above God or even above Christ. Up to the

present time the Pope has merely claimed to be the representative of God on earth, Vicar of Christ, and governor of the Church in the name of her Lord. It may be otherwise in times to come, but the nature of papal power must then have changed, and we cannot argue upon such a possibility. The "lying wonders" which St. Paul attributes to antichrist, have been thought to correspond with those miracles boasted of by the Roman Catholic Church; but we must not forget that, in the text, St. Paul's expression "lying wonders" does not mean false miracles, but real wonders produced by diabolical agency and destined to support falsehood. It appears to me that the term antichrist, given elsewhere to the "Man of Sin," puts us on another track. This denomination is essentially Jewish, as is also that of "Man of Sin," taken from Daniel; it may be translated as either the *Messiah's adversary* or as *Rival-Messiah*, and this second meaning seems the most natural. Whence is such a being most likely to come? Evidently from the midst of the same people among whom the Messiah Himself appeared. It therefore seems to me probable that the false Messiah will be an outcome of degenerate Judaism, and that the Jewish nation, putting itself at the head of the great falling away or apostasy of Christian humanity, towards the close of its existence, will then give birth to its false Messiah, the very ideal of man's natural heart, which has rejected the true Christ. With a daring impiety such as can only belong to him who has turned his back on a holy destination, a Jew wonderfully gifted will, by raising the standard of atheistic pantheism, proclaim himself the incarnation of the Absolute, and draw after him the great mass of mankind by promising a golden age; for he will have no trouble in obtaining credit, in the midst of the dissolution and anarchy then prevailing in the world. And how will this state of things have been brought about? Doubtless by an interior social revolution, which

will be no other than the overthrow of *the restrainer*. We know what the opposing force was which annihilated every attempt on the part of the Jewish false Messiahs at the time when the Apostle was living; it was the strength of the Roman legions which crushed every appearance of revolt among the Jews. Since that time, the laws which regulate society have maintained themselves on much the same basis as the one imposed by the Roman power; but should this present order of things come to be overthrown, room would thereby be made for the despot who could turn to advantage the anarchy which would be the natural result of such a revolution. One glance at the course pursued nowadays by mankind in general is sufficient to convince us that the fatal term, prophetically spoken of by St. Paul, is fast approaching.

The Apostle adds to his teaching, in the last chapter, a measure of discipline. He knew there still existed in the Church of Thessalonica a sound majority on which he might rely for support in his endeavours to put down the effervescence of the *disorderly*. Already in his first epistle, he had called upon all true believers to admonish those enthusiasts, and to bring them back to the life of work and duty from which a Christian ought never to depart. He now advises them to go still further, and if there remain some who, after having been exhorted, return not to a quiet, sober life; to note those men and to withdraw themselves from them. They must not, however, neglect to admonish them as brethren from time to time, and to urge their return to orderliness within the Church. The Apostle ends by giving a token whereby the Thessalonians may ascertain in future the authenticity of the epistles attributed to him, so that the case alluded to at the beginning of chapter ii. might not occur again.

We shall not, here, touch upon those objections raised for the first time by a modern school against the authenticity of these two epistles. They are quite insignificant

and are recognised as such by several theologians belonging to that very school. The characteristic feature of these epistles compared with those written afterwards by St. Paul, is the preponderance of the eschatological element, that is to say, of subjects relating to the end of the present order of things and to the final triumph of the Church. This has been explained as an instance of the progressive nature of the development of the Apostle's conception of Christianity. It has been said that at first, St. Paul was still under the dominion of the Jewish ideas about the Messiah which so greatly influenced the hopes of the primitive Church, and that his attention had not yet fixed itself on the relation existing between law and grace. This would be the reason why the word *law* occurs in neither of these two epistles; and the first character of "Paulinism" would be here revealed to us, serving as a transition between the apostolical teaching from which St. Paul had started, and the original conception at which he finally arrived.¹

But those who speak thus forget one thing, which is that both the Epistles to the Thessalonians belong to the *second* missionary journey, and must therefore be dated later than the great dispute at Antioch and the assembly called Council of Jerusalem, where the question relating to the freedom of the Gentiles with regard to the Mosaic law was fully discussed and solved with the participation of St. Paul. More than this, the altercation between Paul and Peter when the former expounded before the latter and before the whole assembled Church of Antioch (*before them all*, Gal. ii. 14), what he considered the truth with regard to the inefficacy of the law, and the free gift of salvation by the death of Christ, can only have been separated by a very short interval from the time when these epistles were written; for this scene is related by St. Paul to the Galatians about the autumn of the year 54 as a bygone event,

¹ Sabatier: *St. Paul*, pp. 101, 102.

and both our epistles were written in the year 53. At the time when St. Paul wrote them he had therefore arrived at the entire possession of the evangelical conception which is developed in his subsequent letters; and if he does not speak of it to the Thessalonians, it is not because a full understanding of it has not yet been granted to him, but because here, as usual, he keeps strictly within the limits of the question to be treated, and of the distinct and providential need which has caused him to take up his pen. St. Paul has often been represented as a fiery steed, clearing the roadside hedge and galloping over hill and dale to return at length on to the straight road;¹ but this is mere fancy. Never was a mind more master of itself and strict in keeping its thoughts well in hand, than was the mind of him whom we call St. Paul. At Thessalonica, Judaism had not yet tried to penetrate within the Church, to appropriate the Gospel to itself, and to alter it so as to suit the Jewish ideas. What has been called "Judæo-Christianity" did not therefore exist as yet in this city, and there was no need for St. Paul to attack it. The question of the means of grace not having been raised, and the Apostle's teaching being accepted just as he gave it, it seems natural that the subjects relating to Christian hopes should have been those most discussed, and should have rendered necessary some further teaching on the part of the Apostle, which he gave by means of these epistles. This teaching evidently presupposes a general knowledge of the Gospel truths, which must have been given by St. Paul during his stay at Thessalonica. St. Luke, in the book of the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 3), thus sums up the Apostle's teaching given by word of mouth: He "reasoned with them from the Scriptures, opening and alleging, that it behoved the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead." These are also the truths of which St. Paul reminds them, as

¹ Lately, Mr. Beecher, of Brooklyn, in the *Homiletic Review*.

being well known to them, in his first epistle (iv. 14), "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with Him." Thus he had not exclusively taught Christian eschatology; salvation, obtained by the blood of Christ, had been then, as it was afterwards, the central-point and leading idea of his preaching. The verses (i. 9-10) which are frequently quoted to prove the contrary and to restrict St. Paul's teaching in this city to the two Jewish elements of monotheism and the coming of the Messiah, prove nothing, because this summing up of the faith of the Thessalonians is made by the Thessalonian Jews themselves whose report is here quoted by St. Paul.

Modern thought oscillates between two contrary currents. According to some, the world, overruled by evil, is hastening onward to its ruin; it would have been better for it never to have existed; the *being* ought never to have prevailed over the *non-being*, and the best thing humanity can do for itself is to labour at its own destruction and that of the universe. This pessimist current is opposed by another, which believes everything to be for the best, dreams of nothing but progress, and imagines that only a defective social organization prevents the world from enjoying a golden age. Brightly indeed does the prophetic elevation of thought, contained in both our epistles, shine forth when compared with these human intuitions or imaginations. It certainly does not ignore evil, but, on the contrary, penetrates it more deeply than our darkest pessimists, and sees it resulting in a general revolt against moral law—a revolt which will give birth to the man who is to concentrate in himself all the venom of evil dwelling in degenerate humanity, and who will be the most perfect incarnation of sin. It sees this man establishing for a time his sovereignty over the world, even to the extent of being worshipped as God. But if prophetic revelation paints the future in

colours as dark as the sternest pessimist could desire, it none the less gives full satisfaction to the most brilliant hopes of the optimist. The reign of the Man of Sin (the last effort of evil) will be immediately succeeded by the reign of Christ (the last effort and triumph of right) and by the absolute sovereignty of the will of God, good, acceptable, and perfect. So does God's purpose, whose mouthpiece St. Paul is, embrace both the opposite poles between which the double movement of contemporary thought is divided; though far surpassing them in elevation and breadth, it reconciles what there is of truth in each; and this knowledge is not for the Apostle a mere subject for prophetic contemplation. The mystery of iniquity is already working, says he, speaking of his own times; he sees the final apostasy preparing, he evidently does not know how long a time will be needed for its full development, but he sees it beginning and he points how it will terminate.

What does he mean by this? He has no idea of satisfying idle curiosity, he has a moral, practical end in view, which is that, from this time forward, each believer should take care not to give way to his every impulse. As a man, mindful of the thunder of a still distant waterfall, takes heed that his boat be not carried away by the force of the current; so is there no single hour in the Church's existence during which its children can afford to be heedless and not keep a strict account of the nature of the spirit they are influenced by in their conversations, their books, their life in general. The two goals, dark and light, holy and profane, are both pointed out. It may therefore be seen that although these two epistles were composed in view of local and temporary circumstances, they nevertheless soar over the course of history from beginning to end. The one says, "wait and hope" the other "watch and fear." The one describes the dark midnight of human existence; the other, its glorious mid-day!

F. GODET.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENCE TO CHRISTIANITY.

(Concluded).

FROM the contemplation of the flood of light poured by science over the doctrine of Creation, we might pass on to mark the effect upon many other theological truths which rays from the same source are beginning to illuminate. Nothing could be more interesting than to trace up the doctrines one by one in order, and watch the light gradually stealing over all. This must always be a beautiful sight; for this is the light of nature, and even its dawn is lovely. We should like to mark where the last ray gilded the last hill-top, and see how many higher peaks lay still beyond in shadow. And then we should like to prophesy that another light will rise, when physical science is dim, to illuminate what remains. We do not mean an inspired word, but a further contribution from nature itself. To many men of science, judging by the small esteem in which they hold philosophy, the day of *mental science* apparently is past. To an enlightened theology it is the science of the future. It were strange indeed, and a contradiction of evolution, if the science of atoms and cells were a later or further development than the science of man. Theology sees the point at which physical science must cease to help it; but encouraged by that help, it will expect a science to arise to carry it through the darkness that remains. The analogies of biology may be looked to to elucidate the mysterious phenomena of regeneration. When theology has received its full contribution from natural science it will be able to present to the world a scientific account of its greatest fact. The ultimate mystery of life, whether natural or spiritual, may still remain; but the laws, if not the processes, of the second birth will take their place in that great circle of the known

which science is slowly redeeming from the surrounding darkness. We shall then have an embryology, a morphology, and a physiology of the new man; and a scientific theology will add to its departments a higher biology. But this cannot exhaust theology any more than biology exhausts the account of the natural man. Further contributions must come in from higher sciences, and different classes of facts must be arrayed under other laws. Theology therefore predicates a science of man which is yet to come. There is nothing external to theology; it must collate the different revelations in mind and matter as science gathers them, one by one. The sciences are but so many natural history collectors, busy over all the world of nature and of thought in gathering material for the final classification by the final science. Without theology, the sciences are incomplete, and theology can only complete itself by completing the sciences

But we have only space at present to note one or two other examples of the contribution of physical science, and these of a somewhat general kind. One shall be the doctrine of revelation itself. That science shows the necessity for a revelation in a new way, and even hints at subtle analogies for the mode in which it is conveyed to human minds, are points well worth developing. But we can only deal now with the more familiar question of subject-matter and see how that has been affected by evolution.

According to science, as we have already seen, evolution is the method of creation. Now creation is a form of revelation; it is the oldest form of revelation, the most accessible, the most universal, and still an ever-increasing source of theological truth. It is with this revelation that science begins. If then science, familiar with this revelation, and knowing to it be an evolution, were to be told of the existence of another revelation—an inspired word—it would expect that this other revelation would also be an evolution.

Such an anticipation might or might not be justified ; but from the law of the uniformity of nature, there would be, to the man of science, a very strong presumption in favour of any revelation which bore this scientific hall-mark, which indicated, that is to say, that God's word had unfolded itself to men like His works.

Now if science searches the field of theology for an additional revelation, it will find a Bible awaiting it—a Bible in two forms. The one is the Bible as it was presented to our forefathers ; the other is the Bible of modern theology. The books, the chapters, the verses, and the words, are the same in each ; yet in form they are two entirely different Bibles. To science the difference is immediately palpable. Judging of each of them from its own standpoint, science perceives after a brief examination that the distinction between them is one with which it has been long familiar. In point of fact, the one is constructed like the world according to the old cosmogonies, while the other is an evolution. The one represents revelation as having been produced on the creative hypothesis, the Divine fiat hypothesis, the ready-made hypothesis ; the other on the slow-growth or evolution theory. It is at once obvious which of them science would prefer—it could no more accept the first than it could accept the ready-made theory of the universe.

Nothing could be more important than to assure science that the same difficulty has for some time been felt, and with quite equal keenness, by theology. The scientific method in its hand, scientific theology has been laboriously working at a reconstruction of biblical truth from this very view-point of development. And it no more pledges itself to-day to the interpretations of the Bible of a thousand years ago, than does science to the interpretations of nature in the time of Pythagoras. Nature is the same to-day as in the time of Pythagoras, and the Bible is the same to-day

as a thousand years ago. But the Pythagorean interpretation of nature is not less objectionable to the modern mind than are many ancient interpretations of the Scriptures to the scientific theologian.

The supreme contribution of Evolution to Religion is that it has given it a clearer Bible. One great function of science is, not as many seem to suppose to make things difficult, but to make things plain. Science is the great explainer, the great expositor, not only of nature, but of everything it touches. Its function is to arrange things, and make them reasonable. And it has arranged the Bible in a new way, and made it as different as science has made the world. It is not going too far to say that there are many things in the Bible which are hard to reconcile with our ideas of a just and good God. This is only expressing what even the most devout and simple minds constantly feel, and feel to be sorely perplexing, in reading especially the Old Testament. But these difficulties arise simply from an old-fashioned or unscientific view of what the Bible is, and are similar to the difficulties found in nature when interpreted either without the aid of science, or with the science of many centuries ago. We see now that the mind of man has been slowly developing, that the race has been gradually educated, and that revelation has been adapted from the first to the various and successive stages through which that development passed. Instead, therefore, of reading all our theology into Genesis, we see only the alphabet there. In the later books we see primers—first, second, and third: the truths stated provisionally as for children, but gaining volume and clearness as the world gets older. Centuries and centuries pass, and the mind of the disciplined race is at last deemed ripe enough to receive New Testament truth, and the revelation culminates in the person of Christ.

The moral difficulties of the Old Testament are admittedly

great. But when approached from the new standpoint, when they are seen to be rudiments of truth spoken and acted in strange ways to attract and teach children, they vanish one by one. For instance, we are told that the iniquities of the father are to be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation. The impression upon the early mind undoubtedly must have been that this was a solemn threat which God would carry out in anger in individual cases. We now know however that this is simply the doctrine of heredity. A child inherits its parents' nature not as a special punishment, but by natural law. In those days that could not be explained. Natural law was a word unknown; and the truth had to be put provisionally in a form that all could understand. And even many of the miracles may have explanations in fact or in principle, which, without destroying the idea of the miraculous, may show the naturalness of the supernatural.

The theory of the Bible, which makes belief in a revelation possible to the man of science, Christianity owes to the scientific method. It is not suggested that the evolution theory in theology was introduced to satisfy the mind of the scientific thinker, any more than that his appreciation of it is the test of its truth. As regards the latter, it is to be weighed on its own evidence and judged by its fruits; and as regards the question of origin, its ancestry is much more reputable, for it was not a concession to any theory, but rose out of the facts themselves. Indeed, long before evolution was formulated in science, discerning minds had seen, with an enthusiasm which few could at that time share, the slow, steady, upward growth of theological truth to ever higher and nobler forms. "Wonderful it is to see with what effort, hesitation, suspense, interruption,—with how many swayings to the right and to the left—with how many reverses, yet with what certainty of advance, with what precision in its march, and with what ultimate com-

pleteness, it has been envolved ; till the whole truth, ' self-balanced on its centre hung,' part answering to part, one, absolute, integral, indissoluble, while the whole lasts ! Wonderful to see how heresy has but thrown this idea into fresh forms, and drawn out from it further developments, with an exuberance which exceeded all questionings, and a harmony which baffled all criticism."¹ These are not the words of modern science. They were written forty years ago by John Henry Newman. Since then the central idea of this passage, which though it does not refer to the Bible is equally applicable to it, has been carried into departments of theology, in ways which were then undreamed of ; and however physical science may have contributed to this result it is certain that the method is not the creation of science.

Evolution is the ever-recurring theme in theology as in nature. We might indeed almost have grouped the entire contribution of science to Christianity around this point. The mere presence of the doctrine of Evolution in science has reacted as by an electric induction on every surrounding circle of thought. Whether we like it or not, whether we shun the change, or court it, or dread it, it has come, and we must set ourselves to understand it. No truth now can remain unaffected by evolution. We can no longer take out a doctrine in this century or in that, bottle it like a vintage, and store it in our creeds. We see truth now as a profound ocean still, but with a slow and ever rising tide. Theology must reckon with this tide. We can store this truth in our vessels, for the formulation of doctrine must never stop, but the vessels, with their mouths open, must remain in the ocean. If we take them out the tide cannot rise in them, and we shall only have stagnant doctrines rotting in a dead theology. But theology, surely, with its great age, its eternal foundation, and its countless mysteries,

¹ Newman, *University Sermons*, p. 307.

has the least to lose and the most to gain from every advance of knowledge. And the development theory has done more for theology perhaps than for any other science. Evolution has given to theology some wholly new departments. It has raised it to a new rank among the sciences. It has given it a vastly more reasonable body of truth, about God and man, about sin and salvation. It has lent it a firmer base, an enlarged horizon, and a richer faith. But its great contribution, on which all these depend, is to the doctrine of revelation.

What then does this mean for revelation? It means in plain language that Evolution has given Christianity a new Bible. Its peculiarity is, that in its form, it is like the world in which it is found. It is a word, but its root is now known, and we have other words from the same root. Its substance is still the unchanged language of heaven, yet it is written in a familiar tongue. The new Bible is a book whose parts, though not of unequal value, are seen to be of different kinds of value; where the casual is distinguished from the essential, the local from the universal, the subordinate from the primal end. This Bible is not a book which has been made; it has grown. Hence it is no longer a mere word-book, nor a compendium of doctrines, but a nursery of growing truths. It is not an even plane of proof texts without proportion or emphasis, or light and shade; but a revelation varied as nature, with the Divine in its hidden parts, in its spirit, its tendencies, its obscurities, and its omissions. Like nature it has successive strata, and valley and hilltop, and mist and atmosphere, and rivers which are flowing still, and here and there a place which is desert, and fossils too, whose crude forms are the stepping-stones to higher things. It is a record of inspired deeds as well as of inspired words, an ascending series of inspired facts in a matrix of human history.

Now it is to be marked that this is not the product of

any destructive movement, nor is this transformed book in any sense a mutilated Bible. All this has taken place, it may be, without the elimination of a book or the loss of an important word. It is simply the transformation by a method whose main warrant is that the book lends itself to it.

It may be said, and for a time it will continue to be said, that the Christian does not need a transformed Bible; and fortunately, or in some cases unfortunately, this is the case. For years yet the old Bible will continue to nourish the soul of the Church, as it has nourished it in the past; and the needy heart will in all time manage to feed itself apart from any forms. But there is a class, and an ever-increasing class, to whom the form is much. Theology is only beginning to realize how radical is the change in mental attitude of those who have learned to think from science. Intercourse with the ways of nature breeds a mental attitude of its own. It is an attitude worthy of its master. In this presence the student is face to face with what is real. He is looking with his own eyes at facts, at what God did. He finds things in nature just as its Maker left them; and from ceaseless contact with phenomena which will not change for man, and with laws which he has never known to swerve, he fears to trust his mind to anything less. Now this Bible which has been described, is the presentation to this age of men who have learned this habit. They have studied the facts, they have looked with their own eyes at what God did; and they are giving us a book which is more than the devout man's Bible, though it is as much as ever the devout man's Bible. It is the apologist's Bible. It is long since the apologist has had a Bible. The Bible of our infancy was not an apologist's Bible. There are things in the Old Testament cast in his teeth by sceptics, to which he has simply no answer. These are the things, the miserable things, the masses have laid hold of.

They are the stock-in-trade to-day of the free-thought platform, and the secularist pamphleteer. And, surprising as it is, there are not a few honest seekers who are made timid and suspicious, not a few on the outskirts of Christianity who are kept from coming further in, by the half-truths which a new exegesis, a re-consideration of the historic setting, and a clearer view of the moral purposes of God, would change from barriers into bulwarks of the faith. Such a Bible scientific theology is giving us, and it cannot be proclaimed to the mass of the people too soon. It is no more fair to raise and brandish objections to the Bible without first studying carefully what scientific theologians have to say on the subject, than it would be fair for one who derived his views of the natural world from Pythagoras to condemn all science. It is expected in criticisms of science that the critic's knowledge should at least be up to date, that he is attacking what science really holds; and the same justice is to be awarded to the science of theology. When science makes its next attack upon theology, if indeed that shall ever be again, it will find an armament, largely furnished by itself, which has made the Bible as impregnable as nature.

One question, finally, will determine the ultimate worth of this contribution to Christianity. Does it help it practically? Does it impoverish or enrich the soul? Does it lower or exalt God? These questions, with regard to one or two of the elementary truths of religion have been partially answered already. But a closing illustration from the highest of all will show that here also science is not silent.

Science has nothing finer to offer Christianity than the exaltation of its supreme conception—God. Is it too much to say that in a practical age like the present, when the idea and practice of worship tend to be forgotten, God should wish to reveal Himself afresh in ever more striking ways?

Is it too much to say, that at this distance from creation, with the eye of theology resting largely upon the incarnation and work of the man Christ Jesus, the Almighty should design with more and more impressiveness to utter Himself as the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Great and Mighty God? Whether this be so or not, it is certain that every step of science discloses the attributes of the Almighty with a growing magnificence. The author of *Natural Religion* tells us that "the average scientific man worships just at present a more awful, and as it were a greater, Deity than the average Christian." Certain it is that the Christian view and the scientific view together frame a conception of the object of worship, such as the world in its highest inspiration has never reached before. The old student of natural theology rose from his contemplation of design in nature with heightened feeling of the wisdom, goodness, and power, of the Almighty. But never before had the attributes of eternity, and immensity, and infinity, clothed themselves with language so majestic in its sublimity. It is a language for the mind alone. Yet in the presence of the slow toiling of geology, millennium after millennium, at the unfinished earth; before the unthinkable past of palæontology, both but moments and lightning-flashes to the immenser standards of astronomy; before these even the imagination reels, and leaves an experience only for religion.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

*THE AIM, IMPORTANCE, DIFFICULTIES, AND
BEST METHOD OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.*

FIRST PAPER.

EXACTLY thirty years ago Bishop (then Mr.) Ellicott published the first edition of the first volume of his *Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles*. Of those years no feature in

English literature has been more marked than the number and excellence of the expositions of Holy Scripture which have followed the volume just mentioned. The improvement in this branch of knowledge has been little less than a revolution. To go back now to the commentaries preceding those of Ellicott and Alford is to descend to a platform of sacred scholarship immeasurably below that on which we now stand. Of the last ten years the most conspicuous feature has been the number of popular expositions and series of expositions, some very good and others common-place, designed to bring the results of the best modern scholarship within reach of all intelligent readers of the English Bible.

Amid this abundance of expository literature, Systematic Theology has been somewhat neglected, and has indeed with some persons fallen into disrepute. There have appeared some very good books on Christian doctrines : but the number of them has been small. And efforts to build up a system of theology, or even to expound in its various relations any one doctrine, have not unfrequently been contrasted unfavourably with the consecutive study of the actual words of the Sacred Writers.

That this comparative repugnance to Systematic Theology has not been altogether without excuse, I shall in another paper endeavour to show. And it is not to be seriously regretted. For consecutive study of the Bible ought to precede, and to be the foundation of, systematic exposition of Christian doctrine. Our superstructure will be safe only so far as it rests on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets. I therefore cannot doubt that the special and almost exclusive attention during the past few years to exposition of the Bible will produce great and lasting benefit to the Church of Christ.

At the same time I hold firmly, and shall in these papers endeavour to prove, that Systematic Theology is the true

goal and aim of all consecutive study of Holy Scripture and gives to this study its highest worth, that this aim ever kept in view will greatly aid and guard from mistake our exposition of the various books of the New Testament, and that it is the noblest aim of human research.

By Systematic Theology I mean an effort to comprehend and to set forth in order in its various parts, and as a whole consisting of parts each bearing on the others, all that can be known by man about God and the mutual relations of God and man. It is a reflection in human thought of the Eternal Realities and of our relation to them. The aim of Systematic Theology is to raise this reflection, which through the essential imperfection and the moral contorsion of the mirror must ever be infinitely less than perfect, as near to perfection as possible; or, in other words, to bring about the closest correspondence possible between our conception of God, both in Himself and in His relation to us, and the Great Reality.

It has often been asked, What need have we for systems of theology, for uninspired delineations of Christian doctrine, when we have already the actual teaching of apostles and the recorded words of the Great Teacher? Why need we theories about the plain statements of Holy Scripture? Why need we rearrange and combine them into a system of our own? Is not the teaching of St. Paul and St. John better than that of modern theologians? To these questions the following reasons supply an answer.

We are compelled to systematize the results of our theological study because in the mind of each Sacred Writer the truths taught by Christ assumed the form of a **SYSTEM**; that is, they **STOOD TOGETHER** as mutually-related elements forming one whole. Consequently, only so far as we understand each writer's general conception of the Gospel can we understand his application of the one Gospel of Christ to the specific matters of Church life with which in each docu-

ment he deals. For each document was an outflow of, and was moulded by, this general conception.

This is conspicuously true of the intensely logical writings of St. Paul. For instance, he argues again and again that Justification through Faith involves Justification through the Death of Christ, and conversely ; and that each of these doctrines involves the universal fall of man. And many of his phrases, such as *crucified with Christ*,¹ *risen with Christ*,² are utterly unintelligible except when referred to his general view of the relation of the Christian believer to Christ. This compels us, if we wish to understand St. Paul's assertions and arguments, to endeavour to reproduce, by induction from his writings, his general conception of the Gospel, of Christ, and of God ; or, in other words, his system of theology.

It is true that already, from the hand of St. Paul, we have, in the Epistle to the Romans, an invaluable treatise on Systematic Theology. But even this will not suffice us. For we find all-important additions to it in his other Epistles, especially those afterwards written in the seclusion of prison life during his first long captivity. These Epistles greatly broaden the view derived from the Epistle to the Romans of St. Paul's conception of the Gospel. And, in order that our view may be harmonious, we are compelled to re-arrange in our mind his entire teaching.

We may mention in passing that this reproduced conception of the Gospel is not merely our only means of understanding the extant writings of the apostles, but is our chief immediate gain from study of them, more valuable indeed than a mere knowledge of the line of thought of each Epistle or Gospel. For it enables us to approach the mental platforms from which the sacred writers severally looked at Christ and the eternal realities ; and thus in some measure enables us ourselves to contemplate Him. Each

¹ Gal. ii. 20.

² Col. iii. 1.

Epistle is but a local and passing application of the Gospel ; whereas the Gospel, as St. Paul conceived it, is capable of endless application. To reproduce his conception of it, is therefore an abiding gain.

A second reason for systematizing the results of our theological study is that we are compelled to do so by the constitution of the human mind. We are all theorists ; men, women, and children. As soon as we begin to observe and to think, we begin to theorize. And this inborn tendency is one of the noblest qualities of the intelligence of man. We observe similarities in things around, and we unconsciously group similar objects, and thus form a conception of a group. We endeavour to account for phenomena by tracing several of them to one law, and for laws by tracing several of them to one general law. We arrange in order the results of our observation and induction that thus we may search for deep and broad principles underlying and accounting for all phenomena known to us. And we do this in proportion as any matter is real and important to us.

All this, when once we find reason to believe that behind and above the things seen are greater things unseen, and that these unseen realities are closely related to us, we cannot avoid doing in reference to them. And in proportion to our consciousness of the reality and the importance of the unseen will be the earnestness of our search after the ultimate basis and source of religious phenomena. A man who is satisfied with the present world and the present life, and cares nothing for the infinity and the eternity above and beyond them, will be indifferent to Systematic Theology. To him it will seem to be abstruse and absurd. But every earnest Christian arranges in order, often unconsciously, his thoughts about the unseen world which is so real and near and dear to him ; and seeks for the deeper harmonies which underlie even its apparent contradictions.

It will often be found that men who profess to reject all theological systems have some pet theory of their own which they wish to set up under guise of rejecting all theories.

A third reason for arranging in order the elements of our theological knowledge and noticing their mutual relations is that, apart from man's thought, the eternal realities, which if the Gospel be true underlie theology, are themselves actually related, forming one whole. The oneness of the Gospel is an outflow of the unity of God and of the universe. Consequently, unless we form a combined conception of the eternal realities as a whole we shall not conceive them as they actually are. Similarly, of a great and beautiful building it is not sufficient merely to examine each part separately with however great care. Unless we take a view of the whole and of each part in its relation to the whole, we do not appreciate even the various parts. So of the temple of Gospel truth.

Just as each step forward in natural science reveals a closer mutual relation of whatever material objects are within man's observation, so every deeper view into the unseen and eternal realities behind and above the visible creation reveals a like unity. To obtain this deeper view we must combine and arrange in order our conceptions of God and of His relations to us.

From the above it appears that man's inborn tendency to generalise, already given as a second reason for Systematic Theology, corresponds with the actual constitution of the world, seen and unseen, in which he lives. Because the objective world around us is essentially one, we cannot avoid endeavouring to form, in the subjective world of our own thought, a united conception of it.

The comparison, suggested above, of natural science with theology is worthy of further attention. A very good illustration of the need and aim of Systematic Theology is found in the science of astronomy.

For ages it had been noticed that while most of the stars retain their relative positions, a few of them are ever changing their position: and from the creation of man it was observed that apparently the sun rises and sets. These strange and interesting phenomena demanded explanation. Men sought first a connected conception of the apparent movements of the heavenly bodies, that thus they might learn their real movements. Various theories were put forward bearing the names of their originators or advocates. At first all of them might have been called human inventions; and might have been, and by some men were, rejected as mere theories. But at last it was found that one of them explained all the known facts of the case, and was the only conceivable explanation of them. And the careful observation of centuries has long ago made us absolutely certain that the system of Copernicus is correct, that it is a reflection in the mind of man of objective reality. In other words, it is now known to be, not an invention, as were the other systems, but a wonderful discovery of absolute truth.

Not content with this discovery, the restless intelligence of man sought to trace the exact path of the planets around the sun. Circles and complicated epicycles were suggested, and rejected as not explaining, but contradicted by, known facts. Kepler suggested that the orbits were ellipses, and finally suggested that the sun occupied one focus of the ellipse. This theory, or guess, was found to explain approximately all known phenomena, and has long ago been accepted as indisputable truth. In a similar way Kepler further discovered that the planets cover equal areas of orbit in equal spaces of time, thus explaining their quicker and slower motion at certain parts of their orbits; and that the squares of their times of revolution bear to the cubes of their distance from the sun the same proportion. It was afterwards found that these laws apply to the satellites revolving round planets, except that whereas the

just-mentioned proportion is the same for all moons of any one planet it varies for each central body according to its mass. These three laws explain the movements apparent and real of earth, sun, planets, and satellites.

But the discoveries of Kepler themselves demanded explanation. Why do the planets obey these apparently arbitrary laws? It is the glory of Newton to have discovered that Kepler's three laws are but particular applications of the one law of universal gravitation, which determines both the fall of an apple, the flight of a cannonball, and the path of a planet. He proved that, given such bodies as sun and planets, and a certain original impulse to each planet in a certain direction, and the constant operation of universal gravitation, the planets can do no other than revolve in elliptic orbits with the sun at one focus, covering equal areas in equal times, and in periods of which the squares bear always the same proportion to the cubes of the distance of the planets from the sun; and that the same is true of satellites and their central planet. Like Kepler's three laws, it is now universally acknowledged that Newton's law of universal gravitation is absolute truth. In other words, it is now seen that behind these human generalisations, results of man's mental effort, stands objective reality.

Similarly, unless Christianity rests upon a delusion, behind theological theories and religious phenomena are realities and purposes older and loftier than the planets and their orbits, consisting like the solar system of various elements all mutually related. The task of the systematic theologian is to gain, and to present, a correct view of these unseen realities in detail and as one whole. And he is successful only so far as his conception is a correct and full reflection of its great object-matter.

We have now seen that we are compelled to form for ourselves systems of theology, by the historical fact that

the greatest teachers of theology, namely the writers of the New Testament, did so, and that unless we imitate them we cannot understand their teaching; that, to form theories about every matter which deeply interests us, is a necessity of the human mind; and that systems of theology are needful because the object-matter of theology is itself a system, and therefore can be understood only so far as our thoughts about it assume systematic form.

If all this be true, theology claims a place among the sciences. And it claims the first place. Of the practical worth of the natural sciences, it is needless to speak. We see it in the material progress of modern civilisation. Not less evident are the practical results of Christianity. It has changed completely the face of human society; and has saved it from the utter ruin to which in the days of Christ it was evidently hastening. And in our day science and civilisation in their highest forms are found only in those nations in which Christianity is prevalent. All others are either sinking into decay or are being raised by influences from Christian nations. Copernicus and Luther were born and died almost at the same time. The one was the founder of modern astronomy. The chief work of the other was to propound a theory of man's reconciliation to God unknown to the mass of men in his day. And no Protestant questions now who rendered to mankind the greater service. To thousands the truth taught by Luther is more precious to-day than any material good. All this is a very strong presumption that Christianity rests on a foundation of fact and truth; or, in other words, that the matter of Christian theology is real. And, if so, it is indisputably as much above the matter of the natural sciences as are mind above matter, heaven above earth, the eternal and the infinite above the passing and the finite. The science which investigates matter so glorious is indeed the noblest branch of human research.

In a second paper I shall endeavour to show that this all-important subject is surrounded by special difficulties ; and shall make suggestions with a view to overcoming them. I shall also begin to expound what seems to me the best method of theological research, a method in strict harmony with the essential constitution of the human mind and with the special nature of our object-matter. This method will be further expounded in a third paper. And a fourth paper will investigate the true relation between the results thus obtained and the dogmas of the Christian Church.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

JOSEPH AND MARY.

THE first and third Evangelists tell us all we know of Mary. They tell us that she was the espoused wife of Joseph, a carpenter of Nazareth, and that the Divine call came to her after her espousal and before her marriage. What a call it was, and what a prospect it opened up ! No sooner was Mary left alone with her own thoughts than she began to realize something of what had been appointed her, and what she must now prepare herself to pass through. The sharp sword that Simeon afterwards spoke of with such pathos, was already whetted, and was fast approaching her exposed heart. On a thousand canvases throughout Christendom we are shown the angel of the annunciation presenting Mary with a branch of lily, as an emblem of her beauty and a seal of her purity ; but why has no artist stained the whiteness of the lily with the red blood of a broken heart ? For no sooner had the transfiguring light of the angel's presence faded from her sight, than a deep and awful darkness began to fall around Joseph's espoused wife. Surely if ever a suffering soul had to seek its right-

eousness and strength in God alone, it was the soul of the Virgin Mary in the weeks and months that followed the annunciation. Blessed among women as all the time she was, unblemished in soul and body as a paschal lamb, yet, like that lamb she was set apart to be a sacrifice, and to have a sword thrust through her heart. With all the assurances and hopes she had to rest upon, she would pass through many dark and dreadful seasons when all she had given her to lean upon seemed like a broken reed. "Hail, highly favoured of the Lord," the angel had said to her, but all that would seem but so many mocking words to her as she saw nothing before her but an open shame, and, it might be, an outcast's death. And, so fearfully and wonderfully are we all made, and so fearful and wonderful was the way in which the Word was made flesh, that who can tell how all this bore on Him who was bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh, to whom Mary was in all things a mother, as He was in all things to her a son. For,—

"Hers was the face that unto Christ had most resemblance."

"Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh. A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. These are the beginnings of sorrows."

Joseph's part in all this is told us by Matthew alone. And as we read that Evangelist's account of that time we see how sharp the sword was which pierced Joseph's soul also. His heart was broken with this terrible trial, but there was only one course left open to him. Take her to his home he could not, but neither could he consent to make Mary a public example, and there was only left to him the sad enough step of putting her away privily. Joseph's heart must have been torn in two; for Mary had been the woman of all women to him. She had been in his eyes the lily among thorns. And now to have to treat her like a poisonous weed—the thought of it drove him mad.

Why is it that whosoever comes near Christ has always to drink such a cup of sorrow? Truly they who are brother, or sister, or mother to Him must take up their cross daily. These are they who go up through great tribulation.

Amid these circumstances, if thus indeed they came about, what a journey that must have been from Nazareth to Hebron, and occupied with what thoughts. Mary's way would lead her through Jerusalem, and no doubt she tarried in the holy city for a night that she might rest herself and restore her heart in the temple service. She may have crossed Olivet as the sun was setting; she may have knelt at even in Gethsemane; she may have turned aside to look on the city from Calvary. If Joseph and Mary had already parted when "she went into the hill country with haste," what a heavy heart she must have carried through all these scenes. Only two, out of God, knew the truth about Mary,—an angel in heaven, and her own heart upon earth, and thus it was that she fled to the mountains of Judea, hoping there to find a kinswoman of hers who would receive her word and understand her case. As she sped on, Mary must have recalled and repeated many happy Scriptures, well-known indeed, but till then little understood. The husbandmen and vine-dressers saw passing them, in those days, a Galilean maiden who seemed blind and deaf to everything about her as she hastened southwards. Only she would be overheard communing with her own heart, and saying to herself, "Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him, and He will bring it to pass; and He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday. . . . Thou shalt keep them in the secret of Thy presence from the pride of men; Thou shalt keep them in a pavilion from the strife of tongues." Such a pavilion Mary sought and for a season found in the remote and retired household of Zacharias and Elizabeth.

It is to that meeting we owe the Magnificat, the last Old

Testament psalm, and the first New Testament hymn. "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." We cannot enter into all Mary's thoughts as she sang that song, any more than she could in her day enter into all our thoughts as we read and sing it. Noble melody as her Magnificat is, it draws its deepest tones from a time that was still to come. The spirit of Christian prophecy moved her to utter it, but the noblest and fullest prophecy of Christ fell far short of the evangelical fulfilment.

"And Mary abode with Elizabeth about three months." She is a happy maiden who has a mother or a motherly friend experienced in the ways of the human heart to whom she can tell all her anxieties; a wise, tender, much experienced counsellor, such as Naomi was to Ruth and Elizabeth to Mary. Was the Virgin an orphan, that she did not open her heart to her own mother? or was Mary's mother such a woman that Mary could have told it all to any stranger rather than to her? Be that as it may, Mary found a true mother in Elizabeth of Hebron. Many a holy if dreamful hour the two women spent together sitting under the terebinths that overhung the dumb priest's secluded house. And if at any time their faith wavered, and the thing seemed impossible as they looked at it in the uncongenial and disenchanting light of daily life, was not Zacharias there beside them with his sealed lips and his writing table, a living witness to the goodness and severity of God? How Mary and Elizabeth would object and reason and rebuke and comfort one another, now laughing like Sarah, now singing like Hannah, let loving and confiding and pious women tell.

Sweet as it is to linger in Hebron beside Mary and Elizabeth, our hearts are always drawn back to Joseph in desolate and darkened Nazareth. "The absent are dear just as the dead are perfect." And Mary's dear image became

to Joseph dearer still when he could no longer see her face or hear her voice. Nazareth was empty to Joseph, it was worse than empty, it was a city of sepulchres in which he sought for death and could not find it.

All the weary week his bitterness increased, and when, as his wont was, he went up to the synagogue on the Sabbath day, that only made him feel his loneliness and distress all the more. Mary's sweet presence had often made the holy place still more holy to him, and her voice in the psalms had been to him as when an angel sings. On one of those Sabbaths which the exiled virgin was spending at Hebron, Joseph went up again to the sanctuary in Nazareth, seeking to hide his great grief with God. And this, I shall suppose, was the Scripture appointed to be read in the synagogue that day: "Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. Therefore the Lord Himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call His name Immanuel." What a multitude of thoughts rushed into Joseph's astonished heart as the minister read the great prophecy. Many had heard these words, but no man had ever heard them as Joseph heard them that day. When he laid himself down to sleep that night his pillow became a stone under his head. Not that he was cast out, but he had cast out another, and she the best of God's creatures he had ever known; she, perhaps, how shall he utter it even to himself at midnight, the virgin-mother of Immanuel!—a better mother He could not have. So speaking to himself till he was terrified at his own thoughts, weary with a week's labour, and aged with many weeks of uttermost sorrow, Joseph fell asleep. Then a thing was secretly brought to him, and his ear received a little thereof. There was silence, and he heard a voice saying, "Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the

Holy Ghost." Gabriel had been sent to reassure Joseph's despairing heart, and to announce the Incarnation of the Son of God. Did Joseph arise before daybreak, and set out for Hebron to bring his outcast home? There is room to believe that he did. If he did, the two angel-chastened men must have had their own counsels together, even as the two women had. And as Joseph talked with Zacharias through his writing table, he felt that dumbness, and even death itself, would be a too light punishment for unbelief and cruelty like his. But all this, and all that they had passed through since the angel came to Zacharias at the altar, only made the re-betrothal of Joseph and Mary the sweeter and holier, with the aged priest acting the part of a father, and Elizabeth more than the part of a mother. The unbelief of Zacharias, and his consequent infirmity have no doubt despoiled us of a doxology over Joseph and Mary that would worthily have stood on the Evangelist's page beside Mary's Magnificat and his own Benedictus.

There are many things in Mary's character and example that deserve the attention, and invite the imitation, of all the readers of her history. But there is one thing not found in every one of her age and sex that should command all women's attention and imitation, and that is her early thoughtfulness, sobriety, and seriousness of mind. For my part I do not know the virtue that woman ever had that I could safely deny to Mary. The Divine congruity of things compels me to believe that all that could be received or attained by any woman would be granted beforehand to her who was so miraculously to bear, and so intimately to nurture and instruct, the Holy Child. We must give Mary her promised due. We must not cherish a grudge against the mother of our Lord because some have given her more than her due. There is no fear of our thinking too much either of Mary's maidenly virtues, or of her motherly duties and experiences. The Holy Ghost in guiding the

researches of Luke, and in superintending the composition of the third Gospel, specially signalizes the depth and the placidity and the thoughtfulness of Mary's mind. Thus at the angelic salutation she did not swoon or cry out, she did not rush either into terror on the one hand or transport on the other, but like a wise and believing woman she cast in her mind, the Evangelist tells us, what manner of salutation this should be. And later on, when all who heard it were wondering at the testimony of the shepherds, it is instructively added, "but Mary kept all those things, and pondered them in her heart." And yet again, when another twelve years have passed by, we find the Evangelist still pointing out a distinguishing feature of Mary's saintly character, "They understood not the saying which Jesus spake unto them; but His mother kept all these sayings in her heart."

But again, if we are to apply the principle to Mary's case, "according to your faith so be it unto you," then Mary must surely wear the crown as the mother of all who believe on her son. If Abraham's faith makes him their father, then surely Mary's faith entitles her to be called their mother. If the converse of Christ's words holds true, that no mighty work is done where there is unbelief; if we may safely reason that where there has been a mighty work done there must have been a corresponding and co-operating faith; then I do not think we can easily over-estimate the measure of Mary's faith. If this was the greatest work ever wrought by the power and grace of God among the children of men, and if Mary's faith entered into it at all, then how great her faith must have been. Elizabeth saw how great it was. She saw the unparalleled grace that had come to Mary, and she had humility and magnanimity enough to acknowledge it. "Blessed art thou among women; blessed is she that believeth, for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the

Lord." "Blessed is she that believeth," said Elizabeth, no doubt with some sad thoughts about her dumb husband sitting beside her.

"Blessed is the womb that bore thee," on another occasion cried a nameless woman, a nameless but true woman, as her speech bewrayeth, "and the paps that thou hast sucked." But He said, "Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it." And again, "Whosoever shall do the will of My Father in heaven, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother."

ALEXANDER WHYTE.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

II.

THE PRELUDE.

"We give thanks to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, having heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have toward all the saints, because of the hope which is laid up for you in the heavens, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel, which is come unto you; even as it is also in all the world bearing fruit and increasing, as it doth in you also, since the day ye heard and knew the grace of God in truth; even as ye learned of Epaphras our beloved fellow-servant, who is a faithful minister of Christ on our behalf, who also declared to us your love in the Spirit" (Col. i. 3-8).

THIS long introductory section may at first sight give the impression of confusion from the variety of subjects introduced. But a little thought about it shows it to be really a remarkable specimen of the Apostle's delicate tact, born of his love and earnestness. Its purpose is to prepare a favourable reception for his warnings and arguments against errors which had crept in, and in his judgment were threatening to sweep away the Colossian Christians from their allegiance to Christ, and their faith in the gospel as it had been originally preached to them by Epaphras. That

design explains the selection of topics in these verses, and their weaving together.

Before he warns and rebukes, Paul begins by giving the Colossians credit for all the good which he can find in them. As soon as he opens his mouth, he asserts the claims and authority, the truth and power of the gospel which he preaches, and from which all this good in them had come, and which had proved that it came from God by its diffusiveness and fruitfulness. He reminds them of their beginnings in the Christian life, with which this new teaching was utterly inconsistent, and he flings his shield over Epaphras, their first teacher, whose words were in danger of being neglected now for newer voices with other messages.

Thus skilfully and lovingly these verses touch a prelude which naturally prepares for the theme of the epistle. Remonstrance and rebuke would more often be effective if they oftener began with showing the rebuker's love, and with frank acknowledgment of good in the rebuked.

I. We have first a *thankful recognition of Christian excellence* as introductory to warnings and remonstrances.

Almost all Paul's letters begin with similar expressions of thankfulness for the good that was in the Church he is addressing. Gentle rain softens the ground and prepares it to receive the heavier downfall which would else mostly run off the hard surface. The exceptions are 2 Corinthians; Ephesians, which was probably a circular letter; and Galatians, which is too hot throughout for such praises. These expressions are not compliments, or words of course. Still less are they flattery used for personal ends. They are the uncalculated and uncalculating expression of affection which delights to see white patches in the blackest character, and of wisdom which knows that the nauseous medicine of blame is most easily taken if administered wrapped in a capsule of honest praise.

All persons in authority over others, such as masters, parents, leaders of any sort, may be the better for taking the lesson—"provoke not your"—inferiors, dependents, scholars—"to wrath, lest they be discouraged"—and deal out praise where you can, with a liberal hand. It is nourishing food for many virtues, and a powerful antidote to many vices.

This praise is cast in the form of thanksgiving to God, as the true fountain of all that is good in men. How all that might be harmful in direct praise is strained out of it, when it becomes gratitude to God! But we need not dwell on this, nor on the principle underlying these thanks, namely that Christian men's excellences are God's gift, and that therefore, admiration of the man should ever be subordinate to thankfulness to God. The fountain, not the pitcher filled from it, should have the credit of the crystal purity and sparkling coolness of the water. Nor do we need to do more than point to the inference from that phrase "*having heard of your faith*," an inference confirmed by other statements in the letter, namely, that the Apostle himself had never *seen* the Colossian Church. But we briefly emphasize the two points which occasioned his thankfulness. They are the familiar two, *faith* and *love*.

Faith is sometimes spoken of in the New Testament as "*towards* Christ Jesus," which describes that great act of the soul by its direction, as if it were a going out or flight of the man's nature to the true goal of all active being. It is sometimes spoken of as "*on* Christ Jesus," which describes it as reposing on Him as the end of all seeking, and suggests such images as that of a hand that leans or of a burden borne, or a weakness upheld by contact with Him. But more sweet and great is the blessedness of faith considered as "*in* Him," as its abiding place and fortress-home, in union with, and indwelling in whom the seeking spirit may fold its wings, and the weak heart may

be strengthened to lift its burden cheerily, heavy though it be, and the soul may be full of tranquillity and soothed into a great calm. *Towards, on, and in*—so manifold are the phases of the relation between Christ and our faith.

In all, faith is the same, simple confidence, precisely like the trust which we put in one another. But how unlike are the objects!—broken reeds of human nature in the one case, and the firm pillar of that Divine power and tenderness in the other, and how unlike, alas! is the fervency and constancy of the trust we exercise in each other and in Christ! “Faith” covers the whole ground of man’s relation to God. All religion, all devotion, everything which binds us to the unseen world is included in or evolved from faith. And mark that this faith is, in Paul’s teaching, the foundation of love to men and of everything else good and fair. We may agree or disagree with that thought, but we can scarcely fail to see that it is the foundation of all his moral teaching. From that fruitful source all good will come. From that deep fountain sweet water will flow, and all drawn from other sources has a tang of bitterness. Goodness of all kinds is most surely evolved from faith—and that faith lacks its best warrant of reality which does not lead to whatsoever things are lovely and of good report. Barnabas was a “good man,” because, as Luke goes on to tell us by way of analysis of the sources of his goodness, he was “full of the Holy Ghost,” the author of all goodness, “and of faith” by which that Inspirer of all beauty of purity dwells in men’s hearts. Faith then is the germ of goodness, not because of anything in itself, but because by it we come under the influence of the Divine Spirit whose breath is life and holiness.

Therefore we say to every one who is seeking to train his character in excellence, begin with trusting Christ, and out of that will come all lustre and whiteness, all various

beauties of mind and heart. It is hard and hopeless work to cultivate our own thorns into grapes, but if we will trust Christ, He will sow good seed in our field and "make it soft with showers and bless the springing thereof."

As faith is the foundation of all virtue, so it is the parent of love, and as the former sums up every bond that knits men to God, so the latter includes all relations of men to each other, and is the whole law of human conduct packed into one word. But the warmest place in a Christian's heart will belong to those who are in sympathy with his deepest self, and a true faith in Christ, like a true loyalty to a prince, will weave a special bond between all fellow subjects. So the sign, on the surface of earthly relations, of the deeplying central fire of faith to Christ, is the fruitful vintage of brotherly love, as the vineyards bear the heaviest clusters on the slopes of Vesuvius. Faith in Christ and love to Christians—that is the Apostle's notion of a good man. This is the ideal of character which we have to set before ourselves. Do we desire to be good? Let us trust Christ. Do we profess to trust Christ? Let us show it by the true proof—our goodness and especially our love.

So we have here two members of the familiar triad, Faith and Love, and their sister Hope is not far off. We read in the next clause, "because of the hope which is laid up for you in the heavens." The connexion is not altogether plain. Is the hope the reason for the Apostle's thanksgiving, or the reason in some sense of the Colossians' love? As far as the language goes, we may either read "We give thanks . . . because of the hope," or "the love which ye have . . . because of the hope." But the long distance which we have to go back for the connexion if we adopt the former explanation, and other considerations which need not be entered on here, seem to make the latter the preferable construction if it yields a tolerable sense. Does it?

Is it allowable to say that the hope which is laid up in heaven is in any sense a reason or motive for brotherly love? I think it is.

Observe that "hope" here is best taken as meaning not the emotion, but the object on which the emotion is fixed; not the faculty, but the thing hoped for; or in other words, that it is objective not subjective; and also that the ideas of futurity and security are conveyed by the thought of this object of expectation being laid up. This future blessedness, grasped by our expectant hearts as assured for us, does stimulate and hearten to all well-doing. Certainly it does not supply the main reason; we are not to be loving and good because we hope to win heaven thereby. The deepest motive for all the graces of Christian character is the will of God in Christ Jesus, apprehended by loving hearts. But it is quite legitimate to draw subordinate motives for the strenuous pursuit of holiness from the anticipation of future blessedness, and it is quite legitimate to use that prospect to reinforce the higher motives. He who seeks to be good only for the sake of the heaven which he thinks he will get for his goodness—if there be any such a person existing anywhere but in the imaginations of the caricaturists of Christian teaching—is not good and will not get his heaven; but he who feeds his devotion to Christ and his earnest cultivation of holiness with the animating hope of an unfading crown will find in it a mighty power to intensify and ennoble all life, to bear him up as on angel's hands that lift over all stones of stumbling, to diminish sorrow and dull pain, to kindle love to men into a brighter flame, and to purge holiness to a more radiant whiteness. The hope laid up in heaven is not the deepest reason or motive for faith and love—but both are made more vivid when it is strong. It is not the light at which their lamps are lit, but it is the odorous oil which feeds their flame.

II. The course of thought passes on to a *solemn reminder*

of the truth and worth of that Gospel which was threatened by the budding heresies of the Colossian Church.

That is contained in the clauses from the middle of the fifth verse to the end of the sixth, and is introduced with significant abruptness, immediately after the commendation of the Colossians' faith. The Apostle's mind and heart are so full of the dangers which he saw them to be in, although they did not know it, that he cannot refrain from setting forth an impressive array of considerations, each of which should make them hold to the gospel with an iron grasp. They are put with the utmost compression. Each word almost might be beaten out into a long discourse, so that we can only indicate the lines of thought. This somewhat tangled skein may, on the whole be taken as the answer to the question, Why should we cleave to Paul's gospel, and dread and war against tendencies of opinion that would rob us of it? They are preliminary considerations adapted to prepare the way for a patient and thoughtful reception of the arguments which are to follow, by showing how much is at stake, and how we shall be poor indeed if we are robbed of that great Word.

He begins by reminding them that to that gospel they owed all *their knowledge and hope of heaven*—the hope "whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel." That great word alone gives light on the darkness. The sole certainty of a life beyond the grave is built on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the sole hope of a blessed life beyond the grave for the poor soul that has learned its sinfulness is built on the Death of Christ. Without this light, that land is a land of darkness, lighted only by glimmering sparks of conjectures and peradventures. So it is to-day, as it was then; the centuries have only made more clear the entire dependence of the living conviction of immortality on the acceptance of Paul's gospel, "how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and

that He was raised again the third day." All around us, we see those who reject the fact of Christ's resurrection finding themselves forced to surrender their faith in any life beyond. They cannot sustain themselves on that height of conviction, unless they lean on Christ. The black mountain wall that rings us poor mortals round about is cloven in one place only. Through one narrow cleft there comes a gleam of light. There and there only is the frowning barrier passable. Through that grim cañon, narrow and black, where there is only room for the dark river to run, bright-eyed Hope may travel, letting our her golden thread as she goes, to guide us. Christ has cloven the rock, "the breaker has gone up before us," and by His resurrection alone we have the knowledge which is certitude, and the hope which is confidence, of an inheritance in light. If Paul's gospel goes, that goes like morning mist. Before you throw away the "word of the truth of the gospel," at all events understand that you fling away all assurance of a future life, along with it.

Then, there is another motive touched in these words just quoted. The gospel is a word of which the whole substance and content is truth. You may say that is the whole question, whether the gospel is such a word? Of course it is; but observe how here, at the very outset, the gospel is represented as having a distinct dogmatic element in it. It is of value, not because it feeds sentiment or regulates conduct only, but first and foremost because it gives us true though incomplete knowledge concerning all the deepest things of God and man about which, but for its light, we know nothing. That truthful word is opposed to the argumentations and speculations and errors of the heretics. The gospel is not speculation but fact. It is truth, because it is the record of a Person who is the Truth, The history of His life and death is the one source of all certainty and knowledge with regard to man's relations to God, and God's

loving purposes to man. To leave it and Him of whom it speaks in order to listen to men who spin theories out of their own brains is to prefer will-o'-the-wisps to the sun. If we listen to Christ, we have the truth; if we turn from Him, our ears are stunned by a Babel. "To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

Further, this gospel had been already received by them. Ye *heard before*, says he, and again he speaks of the gospel as "come unto" them, and reminds them of the past days in which they "heard and knew the grace of God." That appeal is, of course, no argument except to a man who admits the truth of what he had already received, nor is it meant for argument with others, but it is equivalent to the exhortation, "You have heard that word and accepted it, see that your future be consistent with your past." He would have the life a harmonious whole, all in accordance with the first glad grasp which they had laid on the truth. Sweet and calm and noble is the life which preserves to its close the convictions of its beginning, only deepened and expanded. Blessed are they whose creed at last can be spoken in the lessons they learned in childhood, to which experience has but given new meaning! Blessed they who have been able to store the treasures of a life's thought and learning in the vessels of the early words, which have grown like the magic coffers in a fairy tale, to hold all the increased wealth that can be lodged in them! Beautiful is it when the little children and the young men and the fathers possess the one faith, and when he who began as a child, "knowing the Father," ends as an old man with the same knowledge of the same God, only apprehended now in a form which has gained majesty from the fleeting years, as "Him that is from the beginning." There is no need to leave the Word long since heard in order to get novelty. It will open out into all new depths, and blaze in new radiance as men grow. It will give new answers as the years

ask new questions. Each epoch of individual experience, and each phase of society, and all changing forms of opinion will find what meets them in the gospel as it is in Jesus. It is good for Christian men often to recall the beginnings of their faith, to live over again their early emotions, and when they may be getting stunned with the din of controversy, and confused as to the relative importance of different parts of Christian truth, to remember *what* it was that first filled their heart with joy as of the finder of a hidden treasure, and with what a leap of gladness they first laid hold of Christ. That spiritual discipline is no less needful than is intellectual, in facing the conflicts of this day.

Again, this gospel was filling the world; "it is in all the world bearing fruit, and increasing." There are two marks of life—it is fruitful and it spreads. Of course such words are not to be construed as if they occurred in a statistical table. "All the world" must be taken with an allowance for rhetorical statement; but making such allowance, the rapid spread of Christianity in Paul's time, and its power to influence character and conduct among all sorts and conditions of men, were facts that needed to be accounted for, if the gospel was not true.

That is surely a noteworthy fact, and one which may well raise a presumption in favour of the truth of the message, and make any proposal to cast it aside for another gospel, a serious matter. Paul is not suggesting the vulgar argument that a thing must be true because so many people have so quickly believed it. But what he is pointing to is a much deeper thought than that. All schisms and heresies are essentially local, and partial. They suit coteries and classes. They are the product of special circumstances acting on special casts of mind, and appeal to such. Like parasitical plants they each require a certain species to grow on, and cannot spread where these are not found. They are not for all time, but for an age. They are not for all men,

but for a select few. They reflect the opinions or wants of a layer of society or of a generation, and fade away. But the gospel goes through the world and draws men to itself out of every land and age. Dainties and confections are for the few, and many of them are like pickled olives to unsophisticated palates, and the delicacies of one country are the abominations of another; but everybody likes bread and lives on it after all.

The gospel which tells of Christ belongs to all and can touch all, because it brushes aside superficial differences of culture and position, and goes straight to the depths of the one human heart, which is alike in us all, addressing the universal sense of sin, and revealing the Saviour of us all, and in Him the universal Father. Do not fling away a gospel that belongs to all, and can bring forth fruit in all kinds of people, for the sake of accepting what can never live in the popular heart, nor influence more than a handful of very select and "superior persons." Let who will have the dainties, do you stick to the wholesome wheaten bread.

Another plea for adherence to the gospel is based upon its continuous and universal fruitfulness. It brings about results in conduct and character, which strongly attest its claim to be from God. That is a rough and ready test, no doubt, but a sensible and satisfactory one. A system which says that it will make men good and pure is reasonably judged of by its fruits, and Christianity can stand the test. It did change the face of the old world. It has been the principal agent in the slow growth of "nobler manners, purer laws" which give the characteristic stamp to modern as contrasted with pre-Christian nations. The threefold abominations of the old world—slavery, war, and the degradation of woman—have all been modified, one of them abolished, and the second growingly felt to be utterly un-Christian. The main agent in the change has been the gospel. It has wrought wonders, too, on single souls; and

though all Christians must be too conscious of their own imperfections to venture on putting themselves forward as specimens of its power, still the gospel of Jesus Christ has lifted men from the dunghoops of sin and self to "set them with princes," to make them kings and priests; has tamed passions, ennobled pursuits, revolutionised the whole course of many a life, and mightily works to-day in the same fashion, in the measure in which we submit to its influence. Our imperfections are our own; our good is its. A medicine is not shown to be powerless, though it does not do as much as is claimed for it, if the sick man has taken it irregularly and sparingly. The failure of Christianity to bring forth full fruit arises solely from the failure of professing Christians to allow its quickening powers to fill their hearts. After all deductions we may still say with Paul, "it bringeth forth fruit in all the world." This rod has budded, at all events; have any of its antagonists' rods done the same? Do not cast it away, says Paul, till you are sure you have found a better.

This tree not only fruits, but grows. It is not exhausted by fruit-bearing, but it makes wood as well. It is "increasing" as well as "bearing fruit," and that growth in the circuit of its branches that spread through the world, is another of its claims on the faithful adhesion of the Colossians.

Again, they have heard a gospel which reveals the "true grace of God," and that is another consideration urging to steadfastness.

In opposition to it there were put then, as there are put to-day, man's thoughts, and man's requirements, a human wisdom and a burdensome code. Speculations and arguments on the one hand, and laws and rituals on the other, look thin beside the large free gift of a loving God and the message which tells of it. They are but poor bony things to try to live on. My soul wants something more nourishing than such bread made out of sawdust. I want a loving

God to live upon, whom I can love because He loves me. Will anything but the gospel give us that? Will anything be my stay, in all weakness, weariness, sorrow and sin, in the fight of life and the agony of death, except the confidence that in Christ, I "know the grace of God in truth"?

So, if we gather together all these characteristics of the gospel, they bring out the gravity of the issue when we are asked to tamper with it, or to abandon the old lamp for the brand new ones which many eager voices are proclaiming as the light of the future. May any of us who are on the verge of the precipice lay to heart these serious thoughts! To that gospel we owe our peace; by it alone can the fruit of lofty devout lives be formed and ripened; it has filled the world with its sound, and is revolutionizing humanity; it and it only brings to men the good news and the actual gift of the love and mercy of God. It is not a small matter to fling away all this.

We do not prejudice the question of the truth of Christianity; but, at all events, let there be no mistake as to the fact that to give it up is to give up the mightiest power that has ever wrought for the world's good, and that if its light be quenched there will be darkness that may be felt, not dispelled but made more sad and dreary by the ineffectual flickers of some poor rushlights that men have lit, which waver and shine dimly over a little space for a little while, and then die out.

III. We have the *Apostolic endorsement* of Epaphras, the early teacher of the Colossian Christians.

Paul points his Colossian brethren, finally, to the lessons which they had received from the teacher who had first led them to Christ. No doubt his authority was imperilled by the new direction of thought in the Church, and Paul was desirous of adding the weight of his attestation to the complete correspondence between his own teaching and that of Epaphras.

We know nothing about this Epaphras except from this letter and that to Philemon. He is "one of you," a member of the Colossian Church (iv. 12), whether a Colossian born or not. He had come to the prisoner in Rome, and had brought the tidings of their condition which filled the Apostle's heart with strangely mingled feelings—of joy for their love and Christian walk (verses 4, 8), and of anxiety lest they should be swept from their steadfastness by the errors that he heard were assailing them. Epaphras shared this anxiety, and during his stay in Rome was much in thought, and care and prayer for them (iv. 12). He does not seem to have been the bearer of this letter to Colosse. He was in some sense Paul's fellow-servant, and in Philemon he is called by the yet more intimate, though somewhat obscure, name of his fellow-prisoner. It is noticeable that he alone of all Paul's companions receives the name of "fellow-servant," which may perhaps point to some very special piece of service of his, or may possibly be only an instance of Paul's courteous humility, which ever delighted to lift others to his own level—as if he had said, Do not make differences between your own Epaphras and me, we are both slaves of one Master.

The further testimony which Paul bears to him is so emphatic and pointed as to suggest that it was meant to uphold an authority that had been attacked, and to eulogize a character that had been maligned. "He is a faithful minister of Christ on our behalf." In these words the Apostle endorses his teaching, as a true representation of his own. Probably Epaphras founded the Colossian Church and did so in pursuance of a commission given him by Paul. He "also declared to us your love in the Spirit." As he had truly represented Paul and his message to them, so he lovingly represented them and their kindly affection to him. Probably the same people who questioned Epaphras' version of Paul's teaching would suspect the favourableness of his

report of the Colossian Church, and hence the double witness borne from the Apostle's generous heart to both parts of his brother's work. His unstinted praise is ever ready. His shield is swiftly flung over any of his helpers who are maligned or assailed. Never was a leader truer to his subordinates, more tender of their reputation, more eager for their increased influence, and freer from every trace of jealousy than was that lofty and lowly soul.

It is a beautiful though a faint image which shines out on us from these fragmentary notices of this Colossian Epaphras—a true Christian bishop, who had come all the long way from his quiet valley in the depths of Asia Minor, to get guidance about his flock from the great Apostle, and who bore them on his heart day and night, and prayed much for them, while so far away from them. How strange the fortune which has made his name and his solitudes and prayers immortal! How little he dreamed that such embalming was to be given to his little services, and that they were to be crowned with such exuberant praise!

The smallest work done for Jesus Christ lasts for ever, whether it abide in men's memories or no. Let us ever live as those who, like painters in fresco, have with swift hand to sketch lines and lay on colours which will never fade, and let us, by humble faith and holy life, earn such a character from Paul's master. He is glad to praise, and praise from His lips is praise indeed. If He approves of us as faithful servants on His behalf, it matters not what others may say. "I appeal unto Cæsar." The Master's "Well done" will outweigh labours and toils, and the depreciating tongues of fellow-servants, or of the Master's enemies.

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

*THE PROLEGOMENA TO TISCHENDORF'S
NEW TESTAMENT.*¹

It was a sad loss to the science of New Testament textual criticism when its two *magistri facile principes* were smitten down together,² some ten years ago, both leaving the texts of their great editions of the Greek Testament, without the necessary complement of prolegomena. It soon became known that in neither case was any important body of notes left behind from which the lack could be measurably supplied; and the loss thus seemed irreparable. The prolegomena and addenda which the friendly piety of Drs. Hort and Freane prepared for Tregelles' New Testament in 1879, welcome though they were, only served to emphasize the loss that criticism had sustained, and to exhibit in clear proportions the magnitude of the task that lay before any one who should undertake to furnish adequate prolegomena, such as the author himself would have prepared had he been spared to the work, to either edition. No wonder that the work of thus completing Tischendorf's great eighth edition went begging for eighteen months throughout Germany and, indeed, the world—for proposals were made to a scholar even in distant America—without finding anybody able and willing to undertake it. No wonder that Dr. Scrivener speaks of it³ as a gallant thing that the grand

¹ NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCÆ ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatus criticum apposuit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF. Editio octavacritica major. Volumen III. PROLEGOMENA scripsit CASPARUS RENATUS GREGORY. Additis curis † EZRAE ABBOT. Pars Prior [initial ornament]. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1884.

² Tischendorf died December 7th, 1874, and Tregelles on April 24th, 1875. It is a curious illustration of the slips that all are liable to, that so considerable a scholar as Dr. B. H. Kennedy could publish in 1882 a sentence like the following: "Others [besides Dr. Scrivener] have worked with honour in the same field at the same time, two of whom are gone to their rest, Tregelles and Alford; three survive, Tischendorf, Westcott, Hort." (*Ely Lectures on the Revised Version of the New Testament*. By B. H. Kennedy, D.D. London, Bentley, 1882, p. v.)

³ *Plain Introduction*, etc., Ed. iii., 1888, p. 48, note 1.

American scholar whose name now appears on the title page of the finished work, did when he allowed himself to be selected for the task. It belongs to the knight-errancy of scholarship. He had taken, however, the preliminary precaution of enlisting in his aid the ripe learning and untiring accuracy of so great a critic as Dr. Ezra Abbot, and conscious of his own energy and industry, he was able to look the labour before him in the face with some satisfaction. That was in the summer of 1876. For eight years the two scholars worked steadily and quietly together, while the occasional rumours of what was doing that reached the outside world whetted its appetite more and more, and gradually taught it what to expect, until no book, except only the Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort, was looked for with keener interest.

Even the first half of it, however, saw the light, unhappily, a fortnight too late to gladden the eyes of one of the co-workers, as the sadly-significant obelus before the name of Ezra Abbot on the title page advertises to every reader. It is a pleasure to note that the whole of the present issue—which has been in type since 1881—and much else besides, have been in advance sheets and proofs in Dr. Abbot's hands, although he was not permitted to see it in the hands of the public. It is, of course, impossible to determine—perhaps impertinent too closely to inquire—just what elements or portions of the book are due to his care. One long section—including most of the discussion *De Capitibus* and all of that *De Versibus*—is specially accredited to him; and doubtless the proofs of the whole did not pass under his revising and ever-watchful eye without visible result. Certainly no one could be before Dr. Gregory in full acknowledgment of the extent and ubiquity of his aid. It was due to his insistance over-riding Dr. Abbot's objections, that the latter's name appears on the title-page. And a sense of personal gratitude very strongly colours

the words in which Dr. Abbot's readiness to give aid to those who deserved it is described on p. 276: "Ipse minime præterire possum partem illam laborum Abbotti, quæ ad aliorum scripta attinet; iudicio, erudicione, accuratione, amicitia, omni modo per multos annos multis et in primis iuvenibus textus sacri studiosis subvenit, corrigens, suggerens, restringens, incitans." And something more than a scholar's regret is evident in the brief postscript announcement attached to the *Ad Interim*: "Tristis nuntius allatus est. EZRA ABBOTUS vir clarissimus doctissimus amicissimus, die vicesimo¹ mensis martii apoplexi obiit. Have pia anima!" At the same time, it is important to remember that the book is Dr. Gregory's: "*Scriptis* C. R. Gregory," while it is only "additis curis † Ezræ Abbot." And this, on the other hand, Dr. Abbot was solicitous to have understood and was forward to assert. In *The Harvard Register* for July, 1881—after a hundred and sixty pages of the work had been printed off—he writes as follows concerning his part in the labour:—"The writer has been in constant correspondence with Dr. Gregory concerning the matter, from the beginning, and has revised his manuscript so far as it has been prepared. The proof sheets have also been sent to him regularly from Leipzig for revision. The results of some special investigations will appear in the Prolegomena under the writer's name; but whether any contributions he may have made or may make to the work will permit him to allow his name to stand on the title-page in connexion with that of Dr. Gregory, as he has been urged to do by that all too modest scholar, to whom the chief credit will in any event be due, is yet to be determined. He is glad, however, of this opportunity to express his admiration of the indefatigable industry, patience, and care with which Dr. Gregory has devoted himself to the performance of his task, aiming throughout at a very high ideal of excellence,

¹ It should read "twenty-first."

while perfectly aware that he can receive only the most meagre and utterly inadequate pecuniary return for the vast amount of time and labour spent in the work." It is a pleasant sight to see these two scholars vying with one another in their joint work.

As to the character of the work itself, Dr. Abbot writes : "While the hand of Tischendorf will, of course, be missed in certain parts, it will contain a vast amount of new matter as compared with Tischendorf's *Prolegomena* to his edition of 1859, and will be printed in a way to make it incomparably more convenient for consultation on any particular point." The justice of this statement is now evident to all ; and the two chief characteristics of Dr. Gregory's volume may be well declared to be its fulness in point of matter and its exceedingly convenient arrangement. At the same time, Dr. Abbot's estimate is very characteristically guarded and is indeed under rather than over the truth. We can adopt it only if we may be allowed to throw a very strong emphasis on the words "in certain parts." In other parts and in other particulars, it must be counted a distinct gain that Tischendorf was not permitted to write his own *Prolegomena* : and, save that scholars have had to wait a dozen years for them, we are not sure but that we distinctly prefer those that have last come to us to any that he would have been likely to give us.

It must not be inferred that Tischendorf is sharply criticised and great shortcomings exhibited in his work, in these new *Prolegomena*. The opposite is the fact. And one of the gains that accrue to us from them is the marked rehabilitation of Tischendorf as a critic that results from Dr. Gregory's calm and dispassionate criticism of his work from without. How the magnitude of his labours, the extent and accuracy of his investigations, the exactness of his work, loom up before the reader of these quiet pages ! Tischendorf becomes visibly again "the greatest

critic of his day." His literary activity was marvellous: the mere catalogue of his publications occupy some fourteen closely printed pages; five and a half of which are devoted to works which appeared subsequently to the issue of his seventh edition. His unparalleled activity in textual criticism is exhibited less adequately even in his numerous editions of the New Testament itself than in his work on the Uncial MSS., of which he edited twenty-one, transcribed four, collated thirteen, first brought into critical use twenty-three, and actually discovered fifteen,—among them the Sinaiticus. Between the seventh and eighth editions he increased his uncial apparatus by no less than thirty copies. The extent of his work was matched by its trustworthiness and accuracy—in which qualities he has been surpassed by no critic, as Dr. Gregory very often silently shows and occasionally openly proves against current expressions of doubt and detraction.

Nor would it be fair to compare Dr. Gregory's work with Tischendorf's Prolegomena to his seventh edition, to the disadvantage of the latter. In the interval, the times have changed, knowledge has advanced, and the science of criticism has not been the only thing (though some would like to persuade us of it) that has stood still. The Prolegomena of the seventh edition, moreover, were evidently put together in some haste. But after all allowance is made, the difference remains greater than the time alone will account for, and we should scarcely have been justified in expecting from Tischendorf so extensive, complete, and convenient a treatise as Dr. Gregory has given us. This one part alone, although it carries us only through the description of the Uncial MSS., reaches a length one half greater than the whole of the Prolegomena of the seventh edition. Whatever was of permanent value in the old Prolegomena has been incorporated into these. But this amounts to little more than the section *De legibus in textu*

constituendo (pp. 45–68) and part of the section *De Apparatu Critico* (pp. 33–44) with portions of that *De Grammaticis* (pp. 69–128). It is obvious that subsequent research could scarcely add to what Tischendorf had to say about the apparatus he actually used or the laws that as a matter of fact guided him in the construction of the text. It should be added that these sections have a somewhat antiquated look in the midst of their present surroundings and are by no means the most valuable part of the book. If the book fails anywhere, in fact, it is just here: in the *methods* of criticism, a failure that was inevitable, inasmuch as it is the Prolegomena to an edition published before Drs. Westcott and Hort's epoch-making work was given to the world. With these small exceptions the whole of the book is new, and constitutes nothing less than a marvel of diligent research, painstaking accuracy, and lucid statement. In this aspect, it is more than the Prolegomena of a single edition—though, in its complete form, it promises to be perfectly this—it is *longo intervallo* at once the most complete and trustworthy and the most concise and convenient manual of the matter of criticism in existence.

If this appears to be extreme praise, it is nevertheless only the expression of plain fact. No doubt the book is not perfect. And if it were considered a manual of criticism it would be more imperfect than it is as a body of prolegomena. For example the whole matter of palæography is practically passed over, references to other works being given from which the student may obtain information. Petty errors have also crept in here and there, and small oversights have been made: in a work of this extent this was unavoidable.¹ But if we commence with the section

¹ That the nature of these errors (very few, indeed) and omissions may not be misapprehended the following may be noted as samples:—

P. 215, note 1. H. Stephens' Greek Test. of 1576 does not contain Beza's Latin.

P. 133 (cf. 347). The order of the books in the Peshito is mis-stated.

P. 138. The order of John, Mt., Lk., Mk. is found also in Cursive No. 9 (Sæc. xii.).

De Grammaticis and run through the book, comparison of each section with the corresponding part of the current treatises on the matter of criticism will justify our estimate. Better than that, each section in turn takes its place as the rival or superior of the best extant treatment of that particular subject in our usual hand-books. The section *De Orthographicis*, for instance, suffers nothing in comparison with Dr. Hort's valuable *Notes on Orthography* in the second volume of Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament—though, fortunately, the two treatises proceed after different plans and hence happily supplement each other: in particular, the diligence of Dr. Gregory in adducing the Uncial authority for the various forms which he has collected will be a permanent possession for scholars. *De librorum ordine* advances even on Volckmar's well known paper in Credner's History of the New Testament Canon. *De Versibus* (by Dr. Abbot) is a wonderfully complete little treatise and sets many still disputed or erroneously understood matters at rest. *De Textus Historia* is a wonder of compression and accuracy; and although a little dry and over compressed in the first portion, is the most satisfactory brief account of the editions of the printed text accessible. With the description of the Uncials with which the volume closes, we may compare in general, the lists of Dr. Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*, or, for the MSS. at Paris, the account recently published by the Abbé Martin in his *Description Technique, etc.*; in neither case will it be to Dr. Gregory's disadvantage. It is, of course, out of the question to go here into a detailed comparison with either; it may suffice to say, keeping on the surface, that Dr. Scrivener altogether omits two¹ codices which Dr. Gregory describes,—N^a, and

¹ To prevent errors in comparing the two works, it may be well to mark the following facts: Gregory's T^b is Scrivener's Evangelary 299; Gregory's W₂ is Scrivener's T p. xiv; Scrivener's Φ p. xiv has probably no N. T. leaves in it.

Os; and while Dr. Gregory has missed one Paris MS. which Martin has unearthed (which Martin characteristically calls Ω , *Codex Martinianus*), yet the Abbé has himself missed a Codex in his narrow sphere, which Dr. Gregory describes—Os.

As already hinted, it is the wealth and trustworthiness of Dr. Gregory's details that give his work its most marked pre-eminence. Here it is impossible even to suggest justifying illustrations. If one wishes to see however, both how a thing ought and how it ought not to be done, let him compare the double account of the $\sigma\tau\lambda\chi\omicron\iota$ and of Euthalius and his work given by Dr. Gregory at p. 112 and by Dr. Abbot at pp. 153 sq. with that given by Dr. Scrivener at pp. 50 sq. of his *Plain Introduction*, Ed. 3.

In a word, in Dr. Gregory's Prolegomena we have at last a treatise on the matter of New Testament text criticism which is worthy to stand by the side of Dr. Hort's treatise on the methods of criticism,—we have at last a handbook to which we can refer with reasonable hope of finding readily and in concise form what is actually known of the sources of evidence for the New Testament text, and which is prepared in a scientific spirit—with scientific impartiality, and with scientific accuracy. That the second and yet unpublished portion will be equally satisfactory with the first we have every reason to hope and believe. Its issue has been delayed for the special purpose of enabling Dr. Gregory to inspect more closely the Cursive MSS. He has made personal examination of over 390 in Great Britain alone; we hear of his visits to all the great libraries on the Continent, and text-critical journeys even to Greece. Dr. Schaff reports meeting with letters of enquiry from him in the library at Upsala. For the Parisian MSS. he has the advantage of the Abbé Martin's recent descriptions. What a boon it will be to have the long, dry, and untrustworthy

bare lists of the Cursives, on which we have been thus far forced to depend, replaced by a really scientific and complete catalogue and description of them.

Alleghany.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.—A most valuable contribution to the literature of "Introduction" is made in the comprehensive work of the indefatigable veteran, Professor Reuss.¹ Indeed, it would be hard to name any single volume which contains so much that is helpful to the student of the New Testament. As its title indicates, it comprehends not only "Introduction," strictly so called, but a history of the New Testament writings; that is to say, of their origin, their collection into a canon, their preservation in MS. and printed form, their translation into various tongues, and their interpretation. Considering that so much ground is covered, the fulness and accuracy of the information given are remarkable. It is needless to say that Professor Reuss' work is not that of a compiler, but of an original scholar, who throughout this encyclopædic volume depends much more on his own research than on the labours of his predecessors. In the history of the canon and of the printed text he is himself a specialist; but the other departments of his work bear equal evidence of competent knowledge and insight. His opinions will not everywhere find favour, as his point of view is independent. But no modern writer has less bias or prejudice. No mind could be better adapted for historical studies. He has no preconceptions or interests which prevent him from looking straight at the facts and recognising what is actually there. He has insight, intelligence, learning, and lucidity.

For the sake of those who possess Professor Reuss' work in one or other of the earlier editions, it may be said that in the last

¹ *History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament.* By Edward W. E. Reuss, Professor at Strassburg. Translated from the 5th edition, by Edward L. Houghton, A.M. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1884.)

edition he has made some significant alterations in the substance of the paragraphs, though the old numbering is happily retained. Much additional value is given to the work in its translated form by the care with which Mr. Houghton has brought the bibliography up to date. The translation is thoroughly well done, accurate, and full of life.

The first of a series of *Old-Latin Biblical Texts* has recently been issued from the Oxford University Press.¹ It is difficult to determine whether most to commend the form or the substance of this dainty production. The Delegates of the Press, having resolved to issue a satisfactory edition of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, naturally entrusted this arduous undertaking to the approved scholarship of Prof. John Wordsworth. In examining the materials prepared by Bentley for a similar work, Mr. Wordsworth found that Bentley's collaborateur, Walker (*clarissimus Walker*), wrote from Paris in very laudatory terms of a MS. which he styled *Germanum Latum*. This MS. Mr. Wordsworth has accordingly sought out and identified; and he now publishes a description and history of it, together with its text of the first Gospel. Originally belonging, as its name indicates, to the library of St. Germain des Prés, it is now lodged in the National Library of Paris. It is referred by the present editor to the 9th century, and was first used for critical purposes by Robert Stephens, who in 1538 issued "the only complete Latin Bible with anything like a detailed apparatus criticus." Subsequently it was used by Martianay, by Walker, and by Sabatier, but for upwards of a century it has not been collated. As the result of a minute and laborious examination, Mr. Wordsworth concludes that although borrowing some readings from Jerome, the MS. has as its basis an Old-Latin text; that is to say, a text current before, or at any rate independent of, St. Jerome's Vulgate. For every one who has any taste for critical studies, or even for the sound and finished scholarship of a modest and refined mind, a great treat is here provided. Other Biblical texts will be issued in this series, "if the design is favourably received by the public." It will be a very great loss to Biblical learning if the public does not respond to this appeal.

¹ *Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. I. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, from the St. Germain MS. etc.* Edited by John Wordsworth, M.A., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

We should like to call attention to Professor Bruce's highly intelligent article in the *Presbyterian Review* (Oct. 1884) on the Synoptical Problem. The chief value of the article consists in the confirmation it gives to the opinion that the Gospel of Mark is not a secondary Gospel, compiled from the first and third Synoptics, but is original, if not absolutely, at least so far as Matthew and Luke are concerned. This indeed may now be accepted as one of the ascertained results of critical enquiry. Dr. Bruce's article furnishes us also with some useful remarks on Dr. Abbott's theory of the connexion of the Gospels, as expounded in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art. Gospels). Dr. Abbott, availing himself of the mechanical help afforded by Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, extracts from the three Gospels the matter common to all, and exhibits this "triple tradition" as the closest approximation we possess to the original narrative from which each of the three was derived. The triple tradition thus extracted and showing the matter common to the Synoptics, has the appearance of notes or catchwords, abrupt, broken, elliptical. In the useful manual intended for use in schools,¹ and in which the large and expensive work of Mr. Rushbrooke is adapted to slender purses, Dr. Abbott cites the Mishna as an instance of a large mass of tradition orally handed down in this elliptical form. "Is it not possible," he asks, "that the condensed narrative which we can pick out of the three synoptic records represents the "elliptical style" of the earliest Gospel notes or memories, which needed to be "expanded" before they could be used for the purposes of teaching, and which might naturally be expanded with various and somewhat divergent amplifications?" Most students will, we fancy, answer: No; this is not possible. The solution proposed by Dr. Bruce is that the original Gospel "was a book somewhat like Mark, full of fresh, lively, graphic narratives, which all three synoptical evangelists used with more or less freedom, each giving the substance in his own style, the words in which all three agree being simply the *accidental residuum which they left unaltered*, if it even amounted to that."

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.—The fruits of Biblical Theology are as yet scanty, but the tree has a promising appearance. Under the

¹ *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels in the Text of the Revised Version.* By Edwin A. Abbott, D.D. and W. G. Rushbrooke, M.L. (London: Macmillan, 1884.)

industrious cultivation of Dr. Candlish,¹ it has yielded a book of solid worth, though of little superficial brilliance. "All that glisters is not gold," neither does all gold glisten to the casual eye. The resolute student will find in Dr. Candlish a competent pioneer through the intricacies of an unexplored but fruitful field of investigation. It is not easy nowadays to find in theology any theme which has not been discussed for centuries. But a happy instinct has led Dr. Candlish to a subject which is comparatively fresh, and which moreover touches modern ideas and social movements in a significant manner. No doubt those who are interested in socialism will feel impatient with any panacea which declines to prescribe special forms of social life, and contents itself with providing the healthy social spirit; but even with this deduction Dr. Candlish's book will be found helpful in clearing the way for the permanent solution of social problems.

The writer does not pose as an unofficial and irresponsible statesman, but confines himself to an exposition and criticism of the ideas regarding the kingdom of God which have appeared in the Bible and in history. Naturally he begins by describing the various attempts made by the ancient world to establish a perfect form of society. Here he has the assistance of a wide and accurate knowledge of classical literature at first-hand; and his familiarity with the ground he goes over appears in the lightness of his touch and in the firmness with which he makes good his points. This chapter will commend itself to all readers, and is rich in critical observations. Perhaps a slightly warmer recognition of the world's debt to Stoicism might have been appropriate, although enough is said to show that the writer has striven fairly to estimate that debt. From the heathen attempts at universal alliance and perfect forms of society, the lecturer passes on to show that while Israel also seemed to fail in its attempt, it yet acquired a sense of the sacredness of morality, and a hope of the realization of a perfect form of society, which were considerable contributions towards the ultimate solution of the problem. The New Testament idea of the kingdom of God is then explained, and the various attempts which have been made in history to realize this idea are passed in review. This is the most valuable and original

¹ *The Kingdom of God Biblically and Historically Considered.* The tenth series of Cunningham Lectures by James S. Candlish, D.D., Professor of Theology, F. C. College, Glasgow. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1884.)

part of the book. Nothing better can be desired as a map and history in outline of the kingdom of God. The writer's learning is adequate; his criticism of the various theories of the kingdom held by men in the past, is full of intelligence and acuteness. A remarkable candour characterizes the book throughout (the admission (on p. 153) regarding the Evangelists) revealing a mind emancipated and truth-seeking. A more attractive style and an infusion of imagination would have secured for these lectures an unqualified success.

Under the head of Biblical Theology we may also include Dean Plumptre's *Studies on the Life after Death*.¹ It is needless to say that in this volume, as in everything which comes from the same hand, there is elegant scholarship, learning used with modesty and candour, much original thought presented in an attractive form, unfailing courtesy to opponents—except to Calvin—and a quiet spirit of reverence for truth. The *pièce de resistance* in the volume is a sermon on the Spirits in Prison. The remainder consists of cognate studies, and in these a large amount of historical, philological, and doctrinal information is collected, which may save future workers in the same field much trouble. We are extremely glad to see that in his "Study" on the word "Eternal," so authoritative a scholar as Dean Plumptre gives a quietus to the nonsense so frequently uttered regarding this word. He also exposes with much force the weak points of Universalism. And in his study on Conditional Immortality, while his criticism can scarcely be accepted as conclusive, his remarks are weighty and helpful. His own view is very fairly given by the Roman Catholic priest whose letters he prints: "It seems to me that you do not deny eternal punishment; but you aim at withdrawing from so awful a doom vast multitudes who have popularly been considered to fall under it, and to substitute for it in their case a purgatorial punishment extending (as in the case of the antediluvians) through long ages, at the same time avoiding the word 'purgatory' on account of its associations." His chief ground for this opinion is that there are so many who have in this life no adequate probation. The Scriptural grounds adduced are confessedly weak, and it is greatly to Dean Plumptre's credit that he frankly owns how much there is in Scripture which points to

¹ *The Spirits in Prison, and other Studies on the Life after Death*, by E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Wells. (London: Isbister, 1884.)

another conclusion. "We seem landed . . . in the paradox of seemingly contradictory conclusions." The volume will be valued chiefly as a contribution towards the history of opinions. The chapter on the teaching of Bishop Butler is, however, erroneous, and would be misleading were the misconception of his view not so apparent.

EXPOSITORY LITERATURE.—Dr. Sanday, speaking in his *Inaugural Lecture* of Exegesis proper, says with truth that "there are now so many books, and so good, on most parts of the New Testament, that only a first-rate scholar can hope to contribute anything of real value." Much, however, remains to be done in the department of popular exposition. For among the many works which aim at utilizing the results of exegesis, few are of such a quality as can win for them a permanent place in literature or even materially benefit one generation. Dr. Joseph Parker in his *Expository Discourses on the Acts of the Apostles*,¹ makes a contribution to this department, which if not of the highest conceivable order is certainly of very great value. Defective in form and lacking the clarified compactness of a written style, these lectures are in substance rich and strong, overflowing with ideas expressed in the rapid, direct, and telling style of the best spoken discourse. Persistently resisting the temptation to scene-painting and refraining from once again diluting Conybeare and Howson, Dr. Parker goes direct to those aspects of his subject which have spiritual significance. His knowledge of city life and his penetrating insight into the character and motives of men, lead him to recognise the determining features of each situation in the narrative, and to present it with unerring skill as a mirror to the nineteenth century. Not for one moment does he lose sight of his audience, and if on one or two exceptional occasions he offends against taste, he is never dull, never maundering, never commonplace. He never spoils the Scripture narrative by telling the story over again; he does not fatigue his audience by explaining what is self-evident; but beginning where the ordinary commentator leaves off, he uses each passage of the book as the medium through which he may throw light upon conduct or awaken conscience or stir some elevating aspiration or pillory some common vice. These volumes are indispensable to the preacher; for though he may elsewhere find as adequate an inter-

¹ *Apostolic Life as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles*, by Joseph Parker, D.D. 3 vols. (London: Richard Clarke, 1884.)

pretation of the Acts, he will nowhere else find so many hints for the modern uses which its story can serve.

SERMONS.—Montaigne tells his readers that he writes for his own pleasure, and is content "that every one should see my natural and ordinary pace as ill as it is." Dr. Maclaren, who has hitherto given to the public only selected and very highly wrought specimens of his pulpit utterances, gives us now¹ the means of testing his "ordinary pace." In this first series of "A Year's Ministry," we have twenty-six sermons which have been preached on consecutive Sundays during half a year. Dr. Maclaren's work stands this severe test thoroughly. For our part we prefer his ordinary pace. The style is more direct and forcible than in his previous volumes. The illustrations are not so carefully elaborated, but they are none the less telling on this account; and they are as plentiful, as felicitous, and as illuminating as ever. The sermons in this volume are textual, sometimes almost expository; they speak only of what is found in the verse chosen as the text. Sermons of this kind always appear limited in their range of thought; but whatever may be in this respect lacking, is in Dr. Maclaren's volume compensated for by the felicity with which religious principles and truths are applied to life as it actually is. The volume will be helpful to preachers, as well as acceptable where the hearer needs to supplement the preaching.

MARCUS DODS.

BREVIA.

Brugsch on the Religion and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians.²—The very title of Dr. Brugsch's new book is enough to arrest the attention of all students and people who are interested in the results of Egyptian decipherment. The author has for many years been known as a constant worker in the large field of Egyptian hieroglyphics; he has published a number of texts and works which, although most of them will require careful re-editing, yet will last for a number of years to remind future students of his work. The

¹ *A Year's Ministry*. First series. By Alex. Maclaren, D.D. (London: Office of Christian Commonwealth, 1884.)

² *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*. H. Brugsch. (Leipzig: 1884.)

process of extracting from the texts of the Egyptians what they actually believed about their gods, and other points of their marvellous religion, must of course be long and difficult. The reasons are not far to seek: different periods had different forms of the Book of the Dead, different cities had different gods as their objects of worship, and in addition to this a series of changes was going on perpetually in the Egyptian mind which causes the Egyptologist of to-day the utmost difficulty to account for.

The first good account of the Egyptian religion was given by Mr. Renouf in his Hibbert Lectures. It was good because he had studied all the texts in Egyptian, because of his great knowledge of the Book of the Dead, and because he knew the religion as a whole. As might be expected, exception was taken by some to his conclusions and statements, more especially by Dr. Lieblein. The majority of Egyptologists have, however, accepted them. There is a great deal in Dr. Brugsch's book which will be useful and intelligible to experts only; the portion which will interest the general Bible reader will be the part relating to the monotheistic character of the religion, and the unity of God. The word for "God" in Egyptian is *nutar*, which means "power." The verb or adjective *nutar* means "renovation" (Renouf, Lect. iii. p. 94). The Coptic word *nouti*, formed by phonetic decay from the old hieroglyphic *nutar*, is used by the translators of the Bible to express the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים (Gen. xvii. 1), אֱלֹהִים (Gen. xxxiii. 20), אֱלֹהִים and the Greek Θεός, meaning of course the supreme God. The plural of this word is used to express *θεοί*, *dii*, and a similar usage is to be found in the hieroglyphics. *Nutar* then, was used by the Egyptians to express the One great God, and the plural *nutaru* indicated gods generally, *θεοί*. Dr. Brugsch has quoted several passages (before cited by Mr. Renouf) in support of his view that the Egyptian religion was monotheistic. As they are interesting, we reproduce some of them from the sayings of Ptahhotep: "If thou art a wise man, bring up thy son in the love of God." "A good son is the gift of God." "Thy treasure has grown to thee through the gift of God." The following are from the sayings of Ani (Renouf, p. 101; Brugsch, p. 91): "Let not thy voice be loud in the temple of God, for such He abhors." "Forget not thy mother . . . lest she should raise her hands to God, and He should listen to her prayer. Give thyself to God, keep thyself continually for God, and let thine eyes consider the acts of God."

There is, then, no doubt that the Egyptians meant by that *natur* or *power* used in this manner what we mean by God Almighty. Their conceptions of the Deity were as follows (Brugsch, pp. 96-99): God is One, the One who has made everything. God is a spirit, a hidden spirit, the Spirit of all spirits, the spirit of the Egyptians, the Divine spirit. God is the everlasting. He is eternal and infinite, perpetual and everlasting. No man has learnt to know Him. His name remains hidden. His name is a mystery to His children. Numerous are His names, very many are His names. No one knows their number. God is life, and man lives through Him alone. He puffs the breath of life into the nostrils.¹ God is father and mother. God produces and is not produced, He gives birth to, but is not given birth to, He creates and is not created, He is the creator of His form and the moulder of His body. The heaven rests upon His head and His feet bear the earth. God is compassionate to those who love Him. He protects the weak against the strong. God knows who recognises Him. He rewards him that serves Him, and protects him that follows Him.

It must be remembered, however, that some of these ideas are applied to other gods or powers, and it is a common thing to find the title "one god" applied to a god whose name is mentioned. This lofty conception of the unity of God of the Egyptians belongs particularly to the earliest times of their history, and there is no reason for us to wonder at the gross misconceptions of the Greeks on this matter, for when they as well as the Christians came in contact with the Egyptian religion, it had sunk to the lowest depths of absurdity and ignorance.

The next subject taken into consideration by Dr. Brugsch is the Cosmogony. He quotes a number of most interesting texts on this matter, but we should have been better pleased had he given us the texts (where they were small) at the foot of the page. As it is we must wait for the second part before we can satisfy ourselves about his translations or speak further about his conclusions. Meanwhile, all those who take an interest in the Egyptian religion as deduced from the statements of the monuments and papyri will welcome with the greatest pleasure a part of so full and interesting a book as that of Dr. Brugsch promises to be.

E.

¹ Comp. Gen. ii. 7.—וַיִּפֹּחַ בָּאָזְנוֹ נְשִׁמַת חַיִּים.

Dr. Parker's Commentary on the Bible.—

Commentaries on the whole Bible have been of late years so abundantly produced, that when Dr. Parker announced his "People's Bible,"¹ many feared that he had fallen a victim to a great ambition, and that he could not singlehandedly compete with the bands of scholars marshalled by the editorial batons of Schaff, Ellicott, and the rest. The first words of the published work dissipate such fears. "This is not a Bible Commentary in the usual sense of that term. It is a pastor's commentary upon such portions of Holy Scripture as are of obvious and immediate importance to the growth of the soul in Divine wisdom, and is, therefore, not intended to take the place of the verbal and critical commentaries which so ably represent the latest phases of Christian erudition." This accurately describes the task which Dr. Parker has imposed upon himself and for which he is exceptionally qualified. In the work of expounding Scripture he has many superiors: in the work of applying Scripture he has none. The preacher in his barren moods looks round with resentment on his shelves of commentaries and inwardly asks, What is there in one of these volumes that will fire me to the preaching point, what is there to quicken imagination or bring Scripture into contact with men as they are? This "pastor's commentary" will in great measure supply this want and fertilize barren moods. But mere borrowers must beware; the sword is the weapon of a giant, and if awkwardly swung will fall flat. The book is wholly and from the root Dr. Parker's own. Not an echo of any former commentary is to be heard in it. Genius, says John Foster, is the gift of lighting one's own fire. Dr. Parker is self-kindling. Let him select his own points, do not murmur that much is omitted, be content that he writes a commentary on life rather than on Genesis, and the book will be prized.

Dr. Parker's genius is too well understood to call for remark. When the debt to refinement has been paid by frowning on the absence of the scholar's self-suppression and on the too realistic descriptions, and on the amorphous character of Dr. Parker's work, we may give ourselves up to the enjoyment of his pithy and profound comments on men and manners. There is heather on the mountain, over which some may stumble; there are even at

¹ *The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture*, by Joseph Parker, D.D. Vol. I. Genesis. (London: Richard Clarke, 1885.)

long intervals wet and muddy bits that need draining; but if any one seeks a wide view and a bracing air, let him come up hither. Here is nothing tawdry, nothing commonplace. Open the book where you will, you read on and on. Not only the racy, vigorous language, but the fertility of ideas and the penetrating observation of inner and outward life engage the attention. Dr. Parker looks at life in the concrete and in the individual. He knows not only human nature but men. He is therefore as fertile as life itself, and never wearies us by monotonously reproducing favourite types. Had he handled brush and palette instead of using spoken discourse, he would have been found thumb-nailing in the streets, the theatres, the political gatherings and all the resorts of men. He illustrates the principles he enforces not by figures but by instances, and in two or three firmly drawn lines gives you his idea. He makes his point and passes on, never spoiling by over-elaboration. He knows the difference between one straight, hard blow and a succession of fumbling undecided pats. A good swordsman, he is alert, rapid, and thrusts home to the hilt. We cordially wish him health to complete what promises to be a most useful undertaking.

MARCUS DODS.

Old Testament Notes: (1) Canticles ii. 3, 5; vii. 9. In the *Journal of Philology* (No. 25), Dr. Robertson Smith maintains that תפוח is the apple, not the quince; (a) because the quince has a distinct name; (b) because, according to testimony adduced by him, the true apple is known in Palestine and has the qualities referred to in Canticles. (2) Jeremiah viii. 22, etc. Dr. Field proposes for the word תפוח used here and in Jer. xxx. 17, xxxiii. 6; Isa. lviii. 8, the sense of cicatrisation or the formation of a new skin over a wound after suppuration has ceased.

EDITOR.

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THE BETTER RESURRECTION.

THE eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the roll-book of a noble army. Human history records the triumphs of knowledge and courage and energy; the Divine history records the triumphs of faith—that great power which rises from earth to God, and passes from time into eternity. One of the brightest pages of this Divine history is found in the Old Testament. The writer of this book looks to it, as a man might look up to the sky in a clear night when it is alive with stars, and he sees it all bright and blazoned over with the names and deeds of those who have done valiantly, through their trust in the living God. He begins to count them one by one, and then they crowd upon him so thick and thronged that they cannot be reckoned up in order. They gather into clusters and constellations, like the seven stars and Orion, “clouds of witnesses,” set there on high for spectators and examples.

Among these are found two groups mentioned—“Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection.” There is a comparison here; but, before looking at it, we shall try briefly to show the meaning of the words.

This inspired writer teaches us that these ancient saints were believers in a resurrection to eternal life. It is strange that this should ever be doubted. It seems clear they were, when we think of the very instinct of the

spiritual life—of such expressions as those of David: "I shall be satisfied when I awake with Thy likeness"—or of the language of Martha and Mary when they were still standing on Old Testament ground: "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day." Their faith could not have the same certainty and clearness which ours should have; but that they did look forward to a life to come there can be no question. They gave the best evidence of their faith, for they submitted to the most cruel tortures, and to death, that they might obtain a better resurrection. But what are we to understand by a *better* resurrection? If we look to the first clause of the verse we shall see—"Women received their dead raised to life again." This was one kind of resurrection, a restoration to the life of this world, and to achieve it was a great triumph of faith. But there is another and superior resurrection—to the life of the eternal world—and the faith which carries men to this is of a nobler kind, because it is more difficult. The meaning will be more clearly seen if we render the words so as to bring out this comparison—"Women received their dead again by resurrection; and others, that they might obtain a better resurrection, were tortured, not accepting deliverance."

The women who thus received their dead are recorded in the Old Testament. There was the woman of Sarepta, in Sidon (1 Kings xvii. 17), whose child was raised by Elijah; and there was the Shunammite woman (2 Kings iv. 18), who had her child restored by Elisha. But there must have occurred also to the mind of the writer those women whose history is given in the New Testament—the widow of Nain and the sisters of Bethany—and therefore, in speaking of this subject, we shall keep them also in memory. Those who were tortured, not accepting deliverance, may have been such men as Isaiah, who is said to have come to a violent death by persecution, and

the martyrs to the true Jewish faith in the time of Antiochus. In the New Testament there were men like John the Baptist, and James, and Stephen, who, when they could not retain life with a good conscience, freely surrendered it.

There are then two spheres of faith—that of those who brought their dead back to a resurrection in this life, and that of those who pressed on for truth's sake to a better resurrection in the heavenly life. The first of these has given place to the second, in the midst of which we live; and we shall consider these three things—the better resurrection—the higher faith required for it—and the means by which this higher faith may become our own.

I.—We have to consider *the better Resurrection*.

Let us imagine an event we must in all likelihood meet, or which many of us may already have passed through, when some object of our dearest affection has been torn from us by death. There is the utter blank of desolation—the light of the eyes in which we could read tenderness and truth quenched—the heart that beat to us, as no other on earth, motionless—no ear to listen to us, though we had the most bitter griefs to tell—no counsel or comfort, where we could always find it, however sore bestead. And if there came, in that day of darkness, one who gave us back our dead to be with us, to listen to our history of grief—of this very grief—to take our hand in his again, and make us feel he was ours as before—more than before—what could we ask, what could we think of better than this? It happened once at Bethany: a woman received her dead raised to life again, and a poet has attempted to describe it—

“Her eyes are homes of silent prayer;
Nor other thought her mind admits,
But—he was dead, and there he sits;
And He who brought him back is there.”

But Scripture is silent, and leaves the joy unspoken of as too great. And yet if we could for a little rise above feeling, and appeal to reason—the reason which comes of faith—we might see that there is a better resurrection.

For think of the *place* of it. However quiet and happy the home might be to which the earthly life was brought back, it was part of a world which was smitten with the curse. Cares and fears, and dangers and griefs, were always ready to invade it. Bethany, with its tranquil retreat, was near Jerusalem, with its stormy passions, and it felt their terrible throb. I think sometimes of the joy that was in it when Lazarus was brought back, and then of the consternation which entered it on the day of Calvary, when the great Friend was taken away. Or, I think of the scenes that followed Christ's death, when Olivet was the marching ground of Roman armies, and the temple perished in flames and blood. Better for Lazarus and Mary and Martha if they were not there to look on it, but had reached that higher home, where "desolation and destruction, and the famine and the sword" cannot come. And, if we think of the body as the place to which the soul is brought back, it is a home that has also the curse resting on it, subject to pain and disease, which often make death to be chosen rather than life—to long torturing agonies, and to those strange depressions which cloud the soul, so that to those who look out at the windows everything is darkened.

It is otherwise with the place of the better resurrection. It can be most fitly described in the language of God's own Book: "There shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie. And there shall be no more curse—and there shall be no night there—and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for, the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever." And the

body which here depresses the soul shall be framed to lift it up, to give it perception and vigour, insight and wing, made like unto Christ's glorious body; for, "the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, and they shall have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Then think, by way of comparison, of the *company* in the place. In the case of all those who were raised again to life in this world, we find that they were restored to the family circle—the child of the Shunammite and the daughter of Jairus, the son of the widow of Nain and the brother of Martha and Mary. There was an anxiety, if I may so speak, to surround them with their nearest friends when they opened their eyes again, that the first faces they looked on might be those of kindred—of father, mother, brother, sister. It was a merciful arrangement, to break the strange transition, to soothe the agitated wondering spirit. But there was surely something more in it than this. It was, I think, also predictive. For if these resurrections, as a whole, were intended to help men to the faith of a power stronger than death, they were also intended to lead us to something of the manner of the life beyond. Do they not shadow out this truth, that God will begin our life again among those we have known and loved, and cause us to open our eyes in the bosom of what we shall feel to be a family and a home, with faces round us that are dear and familiar, and voices, whose tones we know, ready to reassure us? If it were not so—if the spirit had to awake all solitary, and pursue its way cut off from its past of life and love, we could not call it the better resurrection. Even in heaven, "the echoes and the empty tread would sound like voices from the dead." Bethany would have something of the blissful, in the joyful reunion of souls, which heaven itself could not show; and therefore we must believe that there also

God will "set the solitary in families," and that in some way broken household ties will be re-knit "in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of His people and healeth the stroke of their wound."

Only there will be something better in it. In this world our dearest friends become at times more dear to us. Some glow in them, or in us, suffuses the soul, and we feel that they are more ours, and we can be more theirs—times when we see deeper into each other's nature and melt into one spirit—those times, above all, when we know that we are touching one another in the thought and life of God. Now, in that heavenly world, we shall have the best at their best. The feeling of sad distrust which sometimes comes over us, as if the truest human friendship had an element of selfishness in it, shall pass away. What we gain here, at intervals in some chosen crisis of our life—the meeting of souls in one, and profound untroubled trust in the sense of it—shall then be a fixed condition. This must be part of the meaning of that word, "They shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion." Nor do I need to say how that company shall be enlarged—what a grand and glorious compass it shall take in, indicated in the saying of the Apostle, "Ye are come unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven." So that, while the heart has its centre in a home, it shall not grow narrow, nor stagnate there, but move out on wide wing, and make its friendships among all the families of the redeemed. So deep and true in its love, and yet so comprehensive—a Father's house with many mansions—shall be the state of the better resurrection.

Think then of the *essence* of this eternal life. Its essence consists in its entire freedom from sin. It is the presence of sin in our nature which is at the root of every other

evil, and deliverance from suffering in heaven is connected with perfect deliverance from sin. "The inhabitants shall not say I am sick, for the people of the land are forgiven their iniquity." Doubt about God and distrust of Him are the most painful of all things to any one who feels what the soul's life ought to be—a perfect repose in God's love that there may be freedom and happiness in His service. This world to most Christians is a fitful struggle to attain a portion of this. When Moses said, "I beseech Thee, show me Thy glory," he was answered that he could not see God's face, but that His name would be made to pass before him, as "the Lord God merciful and gracious." It is still the utmost we can hope for here, and we do not always enjoy it. But of the resurrection state it is said, "They shall see His face; and His name shall be in their foreheads." That must be a happy condition when all of them shall feel the blessedness of the man whose iniquity is forgiven, and the subject which often causes anxious thought, "can I look to God as my friend and Father?" shall be settled for perpetuity—no doubt, nor shadow of a doubt upon it, but quietness and assurance for ever. And when there shall be not only no guilt on the conscience, no sin in the heart, no lurking sympathy with it, but every fibre of the root of poison extracted, and the tree of life shall find its counterpart in the perfect fruit of every redeemed soul! How blessed must that state be when there shall be no envy, nor uncharitableness to any one, nothing of humiliation or shame for having done or cherished what is impure and base, nothing of the feeling of lurking evil within, which makes us wishful, if it were possible, to hide our hearts from the sight of God! This is an ideal which it never entered into man's heart to conceive, which the Gospel alone has taught us, and which we feel to be worthy of God and of our spiritual nature. It is the prize of the better resurrection, for, when the

Apostle speaks of pressing forward to the high calling of God in Christ, he connects it with this, "If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead" (Phil. iii. 2).

But we have to think also of the *security* of this state. These resurrections of earth were a return to a world of change and death. Were it not for the great ends to be served, it seems a hard thing to oblige one who had fought a good fight and gained the victory, to enter the lists again. After the joy of reunion, would come the thought, "But we have to part once more," and all the anxiety of sick-beds, the tears of farewells, the bitterness of death must be renewed. The shadow has been retarded on the dial-plate, not removed—who shall be mourned next, when there is no great Deliverer to bid death restore his prey! Once to be raised to this world is twice to die. But children of the heavenly resurrection "die no more; death hath no more dominion over them." The shadow is all behind, the light before, and the light shall no more go down. We can imagine, in some degree, the thrill of rapture at Bethany, when these women received their dead raised to life again, and the joy of the moment swallowed up, for a little, the fear of the future. But to be able to contemplate the future steadily and see every cloud gone; to know that the last fight is over for all who welcome one another on that blessed threshold; to have the power to turn to death and say, "O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end,"—Who shall help us to imagine this?

There is one thing more, without which the thought of this better resurrection would be incomplete—the *presence* to which it introduces. The best of these other resurrections brought their subjects into the earthly presence of the Son of God, but this into His heavenly fellowship. At times we look back with longing desire to the intercourse which some of our fellow-men had with the great Saviour

and friend of sinners—to the Galilean hills, and the house of Bethany, and the upper chamber of Jerusalem. We cannot escape this. His presence was so near, and human, and homelike. And yet they did not enjoy it as we think. There was the veil of their imperfect vision, and of His humiliation, between. It is the light from His resurrection which lets us see so much more in Him, and which stirs up these desires. And, in the better resurrection, this will be completed. Christ will not be farther from His friends in His exaltation, but nearer to them. For as the human nature in Him was intended to bring the Divine more close to us, so the more we see the Divine in Him, the closer shall we feel the human. The more of God we feel in humanity, the more there is of true humanity to touch us. And it seems as if, after He rose, His friends felt a deeper power in His words, a more tender and tremulous sympathy in His nature. Think of Mary's cry of rapture when He spoke to her by His open grave, of the burning heart of the two as they walked to Emmaus, of the joy of the disciples when they saw the Lord, and let us be very sure that this, and far more than this, is felt by those who have entered His presence, not only beyond His death, but beyond their own.

It is true their resurrection is not yet complete in itself, but it is, as they are, complete in Him; His hand is on their grave, His peace is in their heart. He bids them rest for a little season, and they wait in calm and happy expectancy, with an unalloyed and satisfying foretaste, for they have already felt that to depart and to be with Christ is far better.

II.—We come now to the *higher faith* required for this resurrection. It needed very great confidence in the living God to believe that He could reanimate the dead frame which the soul had quitted for a few hours or days; but to face entire decay and mouldering dust, and to believe that those who sleep in it shall yet awake and sing, this

requires a frame of soul still nobler. Let us mention some of its features that we may aim at them.

It needs more of what I may call the *patience* of faith. The faith of the sisters of Bethany demanded one great effort and the battle was gained. But ours cannot be so compressed. We have to bury our dead out of our sight, to wait the weary days and years, and "feel God's heaven so distant." Poor children of sorrow know what it is to be cheered by the first rush of comfort when they think of their happy change, and then to have the coldness of hope deferred creep over them, to realize the long and lonely way they have to walk before they meet them again. "Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." This needs patience. We must endure the scorn of unbelievers, the talk of unchanging earthly laws rolled like the great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and must listen to the taunts of those who rejoice most when they think that they hear the iron gates of a materialistic universe grate in upon the grave as an eternal prison. We have to struggle with the murmurs of our own hearts, that it is hard in God to put us to so long and so sore an encounter. If we had but one grand heroic effort, we sometimes say, we could nerve ourselves for it, but this harassing warfare, day after day, with fightings without and fears within, is more than we can bear. And yet there are those who have endured it all, of whom the voice from heaven has said, "Here is the patience and faith of the saints."

It needs also more of what we may call the *sanctified imagination* of faith. The circle of these earthly resurrections was very narrow and very simple compared with that which we expect. Their faith had only to bring back their dead to the old accustomed house, the well known seat, the familiar haunts. Ours has to win out a footing for itself from the void and formless infinite, where the scenes and

inhabitants and states of mind are so different that our friends seem to have passed away beyond our knowledge. Our thought falls back like a bird whose wings find the air too thin. "If we could only see them for one little minute," we say, "as they are, we should walk on, so satisfied and calm in heart, till we meet them again." But the very light in which they live makes their state so dark to us." Yet there are those who have risen above this also. There is an imagination of faith, not unbridled nor unscriptural, which has formed for itself a true and real world beyond death, which gives substance to things hoped for, and thereby helps to the evidence of things not seen. The Bible has encouraged it by its figures, "the tree of life," "the river of life," "the city of gold," "the Father's house of many mansions,"—and imagination has no nobler work than to enter among these visions and brood and muse till they become a palpable and real world; and till those who are not, because God has taken them, are seen walking there. "Now," says the most vivid of such true dreamers, "just as the gates were opened to let in the men, I looked in after them, and behold the city shone like the sun; the streets also were paved with gold, and in them walked many men, with crowns on their heads, palms in their hands, and golden harps to sing praises withal. Which when I had seen, I wished myself among them."

This better resurrection needs more of the *spiritual insight* of faith. The faith of those who received their dead back to the present life had a visible Helper with wonder-working power standing before them. God was pleased to vouchsafe them such aid because they required it. Their faith could take but short steps, and His hand was put out to uphold its infant goings. Our faith has not such aid. It has a harder, but a nobler work. It must seek to live as seeing Him who is invisible. It must rest for its ultimate foundation, not on any outward sign, not

even on any uttered word as spoken to the ear, but on the nature of God Himself, and the life He infuses into the soul, on that basis which Christ has given it; "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." Christ Himself must be known to us in His ever living spiritual power. "I am"—not "I promise," but "*I am* the Resurrection and the Life;" and then it follows, "He that hath the Son hath life." This is harder, we say, but it is nobler. There are men who have risen to it, to whom the unseen Christ has been as sure a reality as the sunlight, and who have gained through Him a more glorious vision than sunlight ever disclosed. "They saw the King in His beauty, and the land that is very far off."

III.—Consider some of the ways in which we may strengthen ourselves in this higher faith.

The first thought is one addressed to *reason*. We read here of men who were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. They surrendered all that life holds dear, and life itself, from loyalty to the God of truth. Not only is the Bible full of this, but the course of history. The noble army of the martyrs is seen in every age, marching on, by scaffold and through fire, into the unseen. I do not appeal to them now to confirm the truth of any one doctrine, but to prove this, which lies at the root of all doctrine, that the soul of man can love truth more than life. If you will think of it reasonably it will give you a conviction that in man there is a principle more than can be given by dead matter, and that the system of the universe must be framed in some way to meet this fact. Can we imagine that their self-devotion was founded on delusion, and that God has made His world so that the noblest and divinest deeds in its history have a perpetual falsehood at their heart? Then the temporisers and hypocrites would be the wise men, and the faithful unto death would be the self deluded fools. Even

if a man were to say "There is no God," would not a universe that grew up to moral perception by the strength of a lie—that cheated true men in order to build up truth—would not such a universe be a self-contradiction, and a thing of deserved contempt? It would falsify our holiest instincts, and be at everlasting war with the soul's deepest voice. And, therefore, as we believe in the honest structure of the universe, we believe in God, and, believing in God, we must hold that these men were advancing through death to a great reality. You may see kindling on their faces the reflection of an eternal sunrise, the light of the better resurrection.

The next thought we draw from the contest is one addressed to *the heart*, "Women received their dead raised to life again." Observe the expression, "Women—their dead." That side of human nature which has the deepest affection is clinging to *its* dead, claiming an abiding right of possession in them, and aiding faith to draw its lost treasure back to its arms. And it is a striking truth that in all the resurrections of which we read there was not only strong faith, but deep love—the love of woman. When He raised the daughter of Jairus, He took in with Him the father and the mother of the damsel. When He saw the widow of Nain weeping, He had compassion on her, and said unto her, "Weep not;" and He said unto the young man, "Arise," and delivered him to his mother. When He saw Mary weeping, and the Jews weeping which came with her, He was moved to perform His greatest work, and cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth!" And Christ Himself was no exception. There were tears of women heard outside His grave; and He listened and yielded to their love as well as to their faith; and they too received their dead raised to life again—the ground and the pledge of every other resurrection to life eternal. Let us not think that these things are without a meaning. God

intended that our deepest heart affections should be the helpers of our highest hopes, and the instinctive guarantees of a life to come. When the Shunammite woman came to the prophet to tell him of her dead son, she said, "Did I desire a son of my lord? Did I not say, Do not deceive me?" As if she had said, "Now that he has been given and taken away, I *am* deceived; my heart has been drawn out only to be mocked!" And if it were so that God had bestowed on us these yearning affections, and then taken away their objects for ever, He would be torturing us hopelessly by that which He has put into us of the most tender and pure. We have a right to reason that He would either have made our love less deep and lasting, or that there must be a final home in which its longings shall be realized. Augustine has said, "The love of man builds the cities of men, the love of God builds the city of God." But the love of man also helps to build the city of the skies. Every pure affection points to it; every happy Christian home is a pledge of it; every bereaved heart is a Divine reason for it. A ground this why we should make our family ties so loyal and sacred that they shall keep our dead still ours, and bind us irrevocably to a life to come.

The last way we mention of confirming ourselves in this faith is addressed to the *spirit*. It is gained by the exercise of that spiritual insight to which we have already referred, leading the way to a spiritual life. The object of this sight, and the source of this life, is described by the sacred writer in words that follow: "Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God." Reasoning about immortality may lead us so far, and the instinct of the heart may lead us farther; but I know of no certainty save what grows from union with the dying and risen and living Son of God. Some men may speak

of this as mystical, and regard us as visionaries ; but they are words of truth and soberness, and have been tested in the calm, constant life, and happy, hopeful death, of thousands upon thousands of our fellow-men. It is not only possible to some, but open and offered to all, to become so conscious of God's sustaining grace, in duty and in trial, to be so joined in fellowship to an unseen but real presence, that we shall feel we have a life formed in us which can never die. There is a spring of immortality not only welling out from the throne of God, but ready to rise up in every heart that will admit Him who is the true God and eternal life. It is this faith entering into the soul as a vital principle which formed those ancient martyrs who counted it all joy to face suffering and shame, and to meet death, when the God of truth summoned them. They are sleeping, wide apart, in the catacombs of Rome and the Greyfriars of Edinburgh ; and it was no vague guess, no nebulous haze of sentiment, that made them fill those graves ; but because Christ's own life in them had made them partakers of the powers of the world to come. It has been asked by some who hang garlands on their sepulchres, "Who would be martyrs now-a-days?" and they add "that the bitterness of the question lies in its truth." Those who make such a statement might surely ask themselves whether the principles held by them can possibly be the same on which these heroic souls of old lived and died ; and they might further ask themselves whether the principles can be true which are confessedly unable to nerve men against the last extremity of duty and of trial. I thank God, and I am sure many can thank Him with me, that we have known men who would have been martyrs, and that we know them yet—men who have proved their allegiance to truth so fearlessly against reproach and loss, who have faced the "arrowy sleet and hail" of the bitterest calamities so calmly and nobly, day

by day, as to make us feel with the surest conviction that they could have walked to the scaffold or the stake.

This is not a thing to promise for ourselves, but no man shall stop me of this boasting on behalf of men and women I have known. We may not be able on our own part to realize God's grace as so powerful in us that we could meet, here and now, the martyr's death. But one thing we can seek to do. We can let Christ's life rise in us as a life of humble obedience to the will of God. We can say in the sorest trial, "I would not have it otherwise when it is He who puts the cup into my hand; I would not choose to live if He has seen the time fit for me to die." And, even if we cannot yet advance to this, we can let our life be a following of God's will day by day; we can learn what it is daily to die to sin and self, being made conformable unto the death of Christ. And then, when the crisis comes, we shall be ready for it. The martyr's spirit descends on him when the fire is kindled, and the Christian's willingness to depart comes when his Master calls. There is the same grace for both, and the same triumph. "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

JOHN KER.

*THE AIM, IMPORTANCE, DIFFICULTIES, AND
BEST METHOD OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.*

SECOND PAPER.

WE have already seen that the aim of Systematic Theology is to discover, and to arrange in order, whatever can be known about God and about the mutual relations of God and man. And we have seen that this is the noblest aim ever proposed for human research.

The grandeur of this aim prepares us to find it surrounded by difficulties proportionately great, to find our pursuit of it beset by special hindrances. These difficulties and hindrances are so serious, that we must at once consider them, before going on to discuss the best method of research.

It is at once evident that the sublimity of the object-matter of Theology is itself a difficulty, inasmuch as the finite can at best only imperfectly comprehend the Infinite. But we are very apt to forget that imperfect knowledge is closely akin to error; and is almost inseparable from it. We are, therefore, ever in danger of falling into actual error touching the profound object-matter of theology. This danger we must always keep in mind. Not a few earnest Christians, who are ready to receive additional knowledge, provided it be in harmony with what they already believe, are very reluctant to accept correction. But, unless we are eager to be corrected, even in our most cherished beliefs, the error which clings to imperfect knowledge will seriously hinder our progress in knowledge of eternal truth.

Again, as in all branches of human research, but in immeasurably greater degree, we can comprehend theological truth only so far as we have an inward fitness for it; in other words, only so far as our hearts approve and appropriate the mind and thought of God. In Christian phrase, we can know the Father and the Son only so far as we are ourselves like Christ, and only so far as the Spirit of Christ reveals Him to us. Consequently, our attainments in Systematic Theology are limited by our moral and spiritual stature.

Other more specific difficulties beset our path. No foe to the attainment of truth is more to be feared than mental bias. Yet, to the study of theology, not one of us comes with unbiassed mind. Certain doctrines have, for each of us, vested interests which cannot be ignored, and which mould to a great degree our religious thought. For

the Gospel of Christ touches every department of human life, and therefore our conception of it is influenced by every kind of human motive. These disturbing influences demand now our careful attention.

Around us on every side theology has assumed visible form in various Churches and schools of thought, each holding its own opinions about things Divine. Heavenly truth is reflected from earthly mirrors. And the variety of the reflections betrays the imperfection of the mirrors.

With one or more of these Churches or schools of thought, every student of theology stands in special and very close relation. Through one or more of these mirrors, which while reflecting eternal truth, yet in some measure distort it, each of us obtained his first conception of Christianity, and gained his earliest view of the face of Jesus Christ. We learnt the Gospel, not from the writings of the Apostles, but from the lips of living teachers. And, for this early vision of Christ and this early teaching, the only form of teaching of which we were then capable, we have never ceased to be grateful. For it exerted on our early thought and life an influence, and wrought in us spiritual results, so salutary that they prove it to be, in the main, eternal truth. We are therefore justly bound, by ties most sacred, to the mirror in which we have seen the light of the Gospel of the glory of Christ.

Now we find that the type of teaching which, to some of us, has been the saving power of God, differs from, and in some details contradicts, other types of teaching which to others have been of equal benefit. The difference proves that with saving, and therefore Divine, truth error has been associated. And our reverence for the truth which has saved us, is very apt to embrace also this associated error. There is danger lest, while as we think defending the Gospel of our salvation, we be fighting for an incrustation of base matter which hides and defaces the Gospel. To this cause

must be attributed very much of the earnestness of theological contention.

Other influences less honourable than the above tend to warp our judgment. Not only did we receive our early religious impressions from the living Christianity around us, but we are now members, and not a few of us pastors, of Christian Churches. And with these Churches and their various organizations are indissolubly linked a multitude of interests, spiritual, social and material. A radical change of opinion would bring to us consequences most serious. On the other hand, strenuous loyalty to the opinions of one's Church has often been a passport to popularity and power. Consequently, we are predisposed to see and to over-estimate every argument in favour of these opinions, and to overlook or under-rate everything against them. Amid all these conflicting influences the wonder is, not that there are differences and that these are firmly held, but that the differences between Christians are comparatively so few and small.

We are also exposed to other influences of an altogether different kind, influences more dangerous than the above, because more likely to pass unobserved. If it is easy to accept without due investigation the judgment of a powerful majority, it is equally easy to accept without any investigation whatever, the judgment of what is reputed to be an intellectual minority. To share their views, seems to imply that we belong to their number, that we are raised above the vulgar ignorance of the common crowd. And this temptation is the greater, because we may hope that the mass of those around are unable to detect the shallowness of our knowledge of the matter in question. There is a hollow heterodoxy as worthless as, and more disgusting than, the most hollow orthodoxy. Certainly, opinions which during centuries have moulded human thought, and have secured the approval of multitudes of good men, have

better *primâ facie* claims upon us than opinions, even of the most learned, which have not yet survived a generation. Against the subtle seductiveness of dissent from opinions commonly held, we have need to be ever on our guard.

Yet one more class of influences, infinitely more noble than this last, but still dangerous, demands notice. Whenever, after careful research, a man has formed an independent opinion, and especially when he has boldly expressed it regardless of consequences, or at personal cost, he has in that opinion a sort of vested interest. For upon the truth of it he has ventured much. If his judgment be mistaken, his toilsome investigation, his boldness and his self-sacrifice are, or seem to be, wasted. If it be correct and important, all these are amply rewarded. He is therefore in great danger of over-estimating the importance of the whole matter, and over-rating the evidence which supports his own view. From this very subtle kind of prejudice have arisen not a few strange vagaries held tenaciously by learned and good men.

The above influences tending to warp theological opinion are the greater because very many of the facts of theology are found, or are verified, in our own inner life, where subjective considerations are omnipotent. To a large extent our investigations take place in that inner sanctuary where no eye watches us and where light from without comes only so far as we permit it. So dim sometimes is the light there that even the greatest flaws of argument escape detection.

The variety of theological opinion will now no longer surprise us. And a measure of excuse, even for dissensions we are compelled to deplore, is found in the greatness of the interests involved. The felt importance of theological truth has often aroused eager advocacy. Many have strenuously defended the teaching of their own Church because it has been to them the word of life. Theological prejudice may

claim some indulgence because of its frequent good associations. And even theological partisanship has often done good by bringing to light evidence which otherwise might have lain unobserved. All theological debate should be prefaced by an earnest attempt to discover all the truth held by our opponents. And theological discussion may well evoke gratitude that, amid innumerable difficulties about secondary points, there is among the followers of Christ, and especially among the most earnest of them, so wide an agreement on the matters which all acknowledge to be most important.

The dangers noted above, I shall keep in view throughout these papers; and the method of research which I shall advocate is one calculated to reduce them to a minimum. This will appear as I proceed. But before going further I may now mention two general safeguards against these disturbing influences.

One valuable safeguard is consciousness of our danger, and recognition of the points, *e.g.* those noted above, where it is greatest. Our liability to look with undue favour on our own opinions should prompt a very careful scrutiny of the evidence for doctrines peculiar to our own Church or school of thought, or for any doctrine which we feel ourselves called upon specially to advocate. Such scrutiny does not imply, and will not necessarily create, doubt. It will reveal, if our opinions be true, additional and more conclusive evidence for them; and thus evoke firmer confidence in them. It may show us that in some details we have misunderstood or misrepresented the doctrines we love; and thus remove errors in detail which have hindered others from receiving them. Or, on the other hand, our research may save us from serious error which has vitiated our entire thought.

We shall also do well to examine very carefully all religious opinions held during long ages by large bodies of

Christian men, but not held by ourselves, and all opinions of men of acknowledged scholarship and ability. We may do this the more readily because wide-spread beliefs contain almost always a valuable element of truth, underlying, it may be, a mass of superstition. For error is seldom influential or permanent unless associated with truth. We may thus discover a field of knowledge hitherto unsuspected by us.

A safeguard against deflection of view, in matters theological, by material interests, is a deep consciousness of the infinite value of Gospel truth, even in its details. To see, in the Gospel mirror, the face of Christ as He is, is our highest gain and joy. Now all theological error dims or distorts that beatific vision. It is a spot on the mirror, hiding from us some line of the sacred features of the Son of God; and is, therefore, to him who admits it, a loss incalculable. The truth of the Gospel claims, and is able to reward, absolute devotion. For it multitudes have sacrificed all earthly good; and have been repaid a thousandfold even on earth. And the same truth is able to repay now any loss sustained in our search for it. Recognising this, and therefore like men seeking for pearls of infinite value, we should come to the study of theology eager to learn the truth at any cost, and even to surrender our most cherished convictions in exchange for a more correct, and fuller conception of the Gospel.

We will now, keeping in view the aim and the worth of Systematic Theology, as set forth in my First Paper, and the difficulties surrounding it, go on to consider the best method of theological research.

Our method must accord with the correct principles of human certainty and with the constitution of the human mind; that is to say, it must be such as will create in us an assurance, touching the matters in question, which will be

strengthened by each further examination of the foundation on which it rests.

It is the purpose of these papers to set forth, not the results of theological research, but its best method. At the same time, since each further step in our research is determined by results already gained, it will be impossible to expound the method fully without assuming some earlier results attained by it. These results must, however, be looked upon merely as illustrations of the method, not as an essential part of it. Those who reject the results as incorrect may yet approve, and as it seems to me cannot fail to approve, the general method of research here adopted.

Our search for the unseen, we must begin by gathering together indisputable facts¹ bearing upon it: of these facts we must seek the immediate causes, by comparing them with others in which we can trace the sequence which we call cause and effect; and these immediate causes we must endeavour to trace step by step to their First Cause. Whatever results we thus attain will be a solid foundation for our belief.

Theology is an attempt to extend human knowledge beyond the bounds of the universe visible to the eye of man. It is a search for a world beyond and above that in which we live; a search which when successful reveals the hand of God guiding the seeker even in his earliest steps.

The first phenomenon which meets us in this search is the essential and unique distinction between right and wrong. We find it written indelibly on the language and literature of every nation, Christian and non-Christian, ancient and modern, and in the social and civil life around us. We find it also in the constitution of our nature, graven upon

¹ The word *fact* I am compelled, by the poverty of our language, to use in the sense of something having real existence, whether it have come into existence or have existed for ever.

our inmost consciousness. It colours and moulds our entire thought about men and actions. Those who reject not only Christianity but belief in a personal God, are eager to say that they hold firmly the great principles of morality. Indeed, not otherwise could they gain a hearing from their fellows. For upon moral distinctions rests the whole fabric of human society. All these are indisputable facts, revealing, interwoven in human nature, the great distinction of right and wrong. This distinction, thus revealed, demands explanation. So remarkable an effect must have a sufficient cause.

Again, around us is the material world, living and lifeless, an organized and harmonious whole consisting of innumerable and most various elements and bearing everywhere marks of intelligent design. Moreover, the rocks beneath us proclaim, in words we cannot doubt, that the world was not always as it is now, that human life is recent compared with the age of the globe, and that even life itself, in its recognised forms, is later than the planet on which it is now found. The material world as it now is, and as the stony records under our feet compel us to believe that it once was, demands explanation. For so remarkable a result we must seek a sufficient cause.

It is an indisputable historical fact that these two phenomena, moral distinctions and the material universe, have been traced by the mass of mankind to one cause, viz. to an Eternal and Personal First Cause. All nations have traced the essential principles of right and wrong to Divine sanction, and have looked upon the world as the handiwork of God. This wide-spread belief is itself a mental fact worthy of study: for it reveals the effect upon the mind of man, in all ages and nations, of moral distinctions and of the material universe.

Other closely related phenomena also demand explanation. With the distinction of right and wrong has always

been associated the idea of reward and punishment. Men have ever believed that right or wrong doing will inevitably be followed by good or bad results, that actions come back to the actor in appropriate consequences. How deeply inwoven into the mind of man is this idea, we read in unmistakable characters in the literature of the ancient world.

Yet, strange to say, these consequences, which we instinctively feel to be inevitable, do not always follow in the present life. Again and again men have lost all apparently, and have lost their lives, by doing right; while others have saved their lives and gained wealth by doing wrong. For such persons, posthumous honour or dishonour are a poor recompense: and even these are not always awarded. This imperfection of recompense in the present life is another phenomenon which demands explanation; and which has in all ages engaged the most serious thought of man. An explanation of it given in all ages is that the present life is not the whole of man's moral course, that in a life beyond death there is a recompense absolutely exact. In other words, just as the astronomers Adams and Leverrier, by observing perturbations in the orbit of Uranus which could not be accounted for by any force known to operate within its immense orbit, surmised and then discovered a force outside it hitherto unknown, viz. the planet Neptune, so in all ages men have seen, in the imperfection of moral retribution on earth, proof of a life beyond the present life and a world above that we see around us.

Whether we accept or reject the explanations noted above, all must admit that the phenomena demand explanation. They who reject the explanations approved by the mass of mankind in all ages must propose a better. Thus these phenomena, like all others as yet unexplained, are windows through which we look out into the undiscovered realms beyond.

Other facts altogether different from the above, yet bearing most closely upon them, now demand attention. Christianity itself is an indisputable and all important fact, both in the world around us now and on the page of history. It has been and it is an immense factor of human life. The literature of past ages proclaims in words which no one can contradict or doubt that the Christian era was the turning point of our race, that in the first century there was exerted a moral force which changed the entire course of human thought and life. This mighty moral impulse calls for investigation. A result so pervasive and stupendous is evidence of a cause proportionately great. To discover and investigate this cause, is the task of the theologian.

We notice also that Christianity lends its authority to the explanations proposed before Christ came of the distinction of right and wrong, of the material universe, and of the imperfection of retribution in the present life. For it traces the material world and moral distinctions to a personal Creator and Ruler, and points forward to infinite rewards in a life beyond death.

Lastly, Christianity traces its own origin to one Person, whom it places on a solitary pedestal of honour infinitely above the entire human race, JESUS OF NAZARETH. We therefore eagerly inquire who He was, what He taught, and what He did. Since He was an historical Person, our research must accord with the principles of historical criticism. We must seek for witnesses who can give evidence about Him. We must examine their credentials and sift their testimony, in order to reach the facts of His life. In these facts we must seek for a cause sufficient to produce the Christianity we find on the page of history and everywhere around us; for the force which turned the tide of human life and raised, out of the moral and social ruin into which mankind was at the Christian era sinking, the solid

and rising fabric—rising I cannot doubt not only materially but morally and spiritually—of modern society.

Throughout this historical investigation we must keep in view, as matters still needing full and assured explanation, the distinction of right and wrong, the material universe, and the imperfection of moral recompense in the present life.

The best method of research in this further and historical stage of our inquiry, will be the subject of my next paper.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

III.

THE PRAYER.

“For this cause we also, since the day we heard it, do not cease to pray and to make request for you, that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will, in all spiritual wisdom and understanding, to walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing, bearing fruit in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all power, according to the might of His glory, unto all patience and longsuffering with joy; giving thanks unto the Father.”—Col. i. 9-12 (Rev. Ver.).

WE have here to deal with one of Paul's prayers for his brethren. In some respects these are the very topmost pinnacle of his letters. Nowhere else does his spirit move so freely, in no other parts are the fervour of his piety and the beautiful simplicity and depth of his love more touchingly shown. The freedom and heartiness of our prayers for others are a very sharp test of both our piety to God and our love to men. Plenty of people can talk and vow who would find it hard to pray. Paul's intercessory prayers are at high-water mark of the Epistles in which they occur. He must have been a good man and a true friend of whom so much can be said.

This prayer sets forth the ideal of Christian character. What Paul desired for his friends in Colosse is what all true Christian hearts should chiefly desire for those whom they love, and should strive and ask for for themselves. If we look carefully at these words we shall see a clear division into parts which stand related to each other as root, stem, and fourfold branches, or as fountain, undivided stream, and "four heads" into which this "river" of Christian life "is parted." To be filled with the knowledge of God's will is the root or fountain-source of all. From it comes, a walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing—the practical life being the outcome and expression of the inward possession of the will of God. Then we have four clauses, evidently co-ordinate, each beginning with a participle, and together presenting an analysis of this worthy walk. It will be fruitful in all outward work. It will be growing in all inward knowledge of God. Because life is not all doing and knowing, but is suffering likewise, the worthy walk must be patient and long-suffering, because strengthened by God Himself. And to crown all, above work and knowledge and suffering it must be thankfulness to the Father. The magnificent massing together of the grounds of gratitude which follows, we must leave for future consideration, and pause, however abruptly, yet not illogically, at the close of the enumeration of these four branches of the tree, the four sides of the firm tower of the true Christian life.

I. Consider the Fountain or Root of all Christian character—"that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding."

One or two remarks in the nature of verbal exposition may be desirable. Generally speaking, the thing desired is the perfecting of the Colossians in religious knowledge, and the perfection is forcibly expressed in three different aspects. The idea of completeness up to the height of their capacity

is given in the prayer that they may be "filled," like some jar charged with sparkling water to the brim. The advanced degree of the knowledge desired for them is given in the word here employed, which is a favourite in the Epistles of the Captivity, and means additional or mature knowledge, that deeper apprehension of God's truth which perhaps had become more obvious to Paul in the quiet growth of his spirit during his life in Rome. And the rich variety of forms which that advanced knowledge would assume is set forth by the final words of the clause, which may either be connected with its first words, so meaning "filled . . . so that ye may abound in . . . wisdom and understanding;" or with "the knowledge of His will," so meaning a "knowledge which is manifested in." That knowledge will blossom out into *every kind* of "wisdom" and "understanding," two words which it is hard to distinguish, but of which the former is perhaps the more general and the latter the more special, the former the more theoretical and the latter the more practical: and both are the gifts of the Divine Spirit whose sevenfold perfection of gifts illuminates with perfect light each waiting heart. So perfect, whether in regard to its measure, its maturity, or its manifoldness, is the knowledge of the will of God, which the Apostle regards as the deepest good which his love can ask for these Colossians.

Passing by many thoughts suggested by the words, we may touch one or two large principles which they involve. The first is, that the foundation of all Christian character and conduct is laid in the knowledge of the will of God. Every revelation of God is a law. What it concerns us to know is not abstract truth, or a revelation for speculative thought, but God's *will*. He does not show Himself to us in order merely that we may know, but in order that, knowing, we may do, and, what is more than either knowing or doing, in order that we may be. No revelation from God has

accomplished its purpose when a man has simply understood it, but every fragmentary flash of light which comes from Him in nature and providence, and still more the steady radiance that pours from Jesus, is meant indeed to teach us how we should think of God, but to do that mainly as a means to the end that we may live in conformity with His will. The light is knowledge, but it is a light to guide our feet, knowledge which is meant to shape practice.

If that had been remembered, two opposite errors would have been avoided. The error that was threatening the Colossian Church, and has haunted the Church in general ever since, was that of fancying Christianity to be merely a system of truth to be believed, a rattling skeleton of abstract dogmas, very many and very dry. An unpractical heterodoxy was their danger. An unpractical orthodoxy is as real a peril. You may swallow all the creeds bodily, you may even find in God's truth the food of very sweet and real feeling: but neither knowing nor feeling is enough. The one all-important question for us is—does our Christianity *work*? Is it knowledge of His *will*, which becomes an ever active force in our lives? Any other kind of religious knowledge is windy food; as Paul says, it “puffeth up;” the knowledge which feeds the soul with wholesome nourishment is the knowledge of His *will*.

The converse error to that of unpractical knowledge, that of an unintelligent practice, is quite as bad. There is always a class of people, and they are unusually numerous to-day, who profess to attach no importance to Christian doctrines, but to put all the stress on Christian morals. They swear by the “Sermon on the Mount,” and are blind to the deep doctrinal basis laid in that “sermon” itself, on which its lofty moral teaching is built. What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. Why pit the parent against the child? why wrench the blossom from its stem? Knowledge is sound when it moulds conduct. Action is

good when it is based on knowledge. The knowledge of God is wholesome when it shapes the life. Morality has a basis which makes it vigorous and permanent when it rests upon the knowledge of His will.

Again : Progress in knowledge is the law of the Christian life. There should be a continual advancement in the apprehension of God's will, from that first glimpse which saves, to the mature knowledge which Paul here desires for his friends. The progress does not consist in leaving behind old truths, but in a profounder conception of what is contained in these truths. How differently a Fijian just saved, and a Paul on earth, or a Paul in heaven, look at that verse, "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son"! The truths which are dim to the one, like stars seen through a mist, blaze to the other like the same stars to an eye that has travelled millions of leagues nearer them, and sees them to be suns. The law of the Christian life is continuous increase in the knowledge of the depths that lie in the old truths, and of their far-reaching applications. We are to grow in knowledge of the Christ by coming ever nearer to Him, and learning more of the infinite meaning of our earliest lesson that He is the Son of God who has died for us. The constellations that burn in our nightly sky looked down on Chaldean astronomers, but though these are the same, how much more is known about them at Greenwich than was dreamed at Babylon!

II. Consider the River or Stem of Christian conduct.

The purpose and outcome of this full knowledge of the will of God in Christ is to "walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing." By "walk" is of course meant the whole active life; so that the principle is brought out here very distinctly, that the last result of knowledge of the Divine will is an outward life regulated by that will. And the sort of life which such knowledge leads to, is designated in most

general terms as "worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing," in which we have set forth two aspects of the true Christian life.

"Worthily of the Lord!" The "Lord" here, as generally, is Christ, and "worthily" seems to mean, in a manner corresponding to what Christ is to us, and has done for us. We find other forms of the same thought in such expressions as "worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called" (Eph. iv. 1), "worthy of saints" (Rom. xvi. 2), "worthy of the Gospel" (Phil. i. 27), "worthy of God" (1 Thess. ii. 12), in all of which there is the idea of a standard to which the practical life is to be conformed. Thus the Apostle condenses into one word all the manifold relations in which we stand to Christ, and all the multifarious arguments for a holy life which they yield.

These are mainly two. The Christian should "walk" in a manner corresponding to what Christ has done for him. "Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people, and unwise?" was the mournful wondering question of the dying Moses to his people, as he summed up the history of unbroken tenderness and love on the one side, and of disloyalty almost as uninterrupted on the other. How much more pathetically and emphatically might the question be asked of us? We say that we are not our own, but bought with a price. Then how do we repay that costly purchase? Do we not requite His blood and tears, His unquenchable, unalterable love, with a little tepid love which grudges sacrifices and has scarcely power enough to influence conduct at all, with a little trembling faith which but poorly corresponds to His firm promises, with a little reluctant obedience? The richest treasure of heaven has been freely lavished for us, and we return a sparing expenditure of our hearts and ourselves, repaying fine gold with tarnished copper, and the flood of love from the heart of Christ with a few niggard drops grudgingly squeezed from ours.

Nothing short of complete self-surrender, perfect obedience, and unwavering unfaltering love can characterize the walk that corresponds with our profound obligations to Him. Surely there can be no stronger cord with which to bind us as sacrifices to the horns of the altar than the cords of love. This is the unique glory and power of Christian ethics, that it brings in this tender personal element to transmute the coldness of duty into the warmth of gratitude, so throwing rosy light over the snowy summits of abstract virtue. Repugnant duties become tokens of love, pleasant as every sacrifice made at its bidding ever is. The true Christian spirit says: Thou hast given Thyself wholly for me: help me to yield myself to Thee. Thou hast loved me perfectly: help me to love Thee with all my heart.

The other side of this conception of a worthy walk is, that the Christian should act in a manner corresponding to Christ's character and conduct. We profess to be His by sacredest ties: then we should set our watches by that dial, being conformed to His likeness, and in all our daily life trying to do as He has done, or as we believe He would do if He were in our place. Nothing less than the effort to tread in His footsteps is a walk worthy of the Lord. All unlikeness to His pattern is a dishonour to Him and to ourselves. It is neither worthy of the Lord, nor of the vocation wherewith we are called, nor of the name of saints. Only when these two things are brought about in my experience—when the glow of His love melts my heart and makes it flow down in answering affection, and when the beauty of His perfect life stands ever before me, and though it be high above me, is not a despair, but a stimulus and a hope—only then do I “walk worthy of the Lord.”

Another thought as to the nature of the life in which the knowledge of the Divine will should issue, is expressed in the other clause—“unto all pleasing,” which sets forth the great aim as being to please Christ in everything. That

is a strange purpose to propose to men, as the supreme end to be ever kept in view, to satisfy Jesus Christ by their conduct. To make the good opinion of men our aim is to be slaves; but to please this Man ennobles us, and exalts life. Who or what is He, whose judgment of us is thus all-important, whose approbation is praise indeed, and to win whose smile is a worthy object for which to use life, or even to lose it? We should ask ourselves, Do we make it our ever present object to satisfy Jesus Christ? We are not to mind about other people's approbation. We can do without that. We are not to hunt after the good word of our fellows. Every life into which that craving for man's praise and good opinion enters is tarnished by it. It is a canker, a creeping leprosy, which eats sincerity and nobleness and strength out of a man. Let us not care to trim our sails to catch the shifting winds of this or that man's favour and eulogium, but look higher, and say, "With me it is a very small matter to be judged of man's judgment." "I appeal unto Cæsar." He, the true Commander and Emperor, holds our fate in His hands; we have to please Him and Him only. There is no thought which will so reduce the importance of the babble around us, and teach us such brave and wholesome contempt for popular applause, and all the strife of tongues, as the constant habit of trying to act as ever in our great Taskmaster's eye. What does it matter who praise, if He frowns? or who blame, if His face lights with a smile? No thought will so spur us to diligence, and make all life solemn and grand as the thought that "we labour, that whether present or absent, we may be well pleasing to Him." Nothing will so string the muscles for the fight, and free us from being entangled with the things of this life, as the ambition to "please Him who has called us to be soldiers."

Men have willingly flung away their lives for a couple

of lines of praise in a despatch, or for a smile from some great commander. Let us try to live and die so as to get "honourable mention" from our Captain. Praise from His lips is praise indeed. We shall not know how much it is worth, till the smile lights His face, and the love comes into His eyes, as He looks at us, and says, "Well done! good and faithful servant."

III. We have finally the fourfold streams or branches into which this general conception of Christian character parts itself.

There are four participial clauses here, which seem all to stand on one level, and to present an analysis in more detail of the component parts of this worthy walk. In general terms it is divided into fruitfulness in work, increase in knowledge, strength for suffering, and, as the climax of all, thankfulness.

The first element is—"bearing fruit in every good work." These words carry us back to what was said in ver. 6 about the fruitfulness of the gospel. Here the man in whom that word is planted is regarded as the producer of the fruit, by the same natural transition by which, in our Lord's Parable of the Sower, the men in whose hearts the seed was sown are spoken of as themselves on the one hand, bringing no fruit to perfection, and on the other, bringing forth fruit with patience. The worthy walk will be first manifested in the production of a rich variety of forms of goodness. All profound knowledge of God, and all lofty thoughts of imitating and pleasing Christ, are to be tested at last by their power to make men good, and that not after any monotonous type, nor on one side of their nature only.

One plain principle implied here is that the only true fruit is goodness. We may be busy, as many a man in our great commercial cities is busy, from Monday morning till Saturday night for a long lifetime, and may have had

to build bigger barns for our "fruits and our goods," and yet, in the high and solemn meaning of the word here, our life may be utterly empty and fruitless. Much of our work and of its results is no more fruit than the galls on the oak-leaves are. They are a swelling from a puncture made by an insect, a sign of disease not of life. The only sort of work which can be called fruit, in the highest meaning of the word, is that which corresponds to a man's whole nature and relations; and the only work which does so correspond is a life of loving service of God, which cultivates all things lovely and of good report. Goodness, therefore, alone deserves to be called fruit—as for all the rest of our busy lives, they and their toils are like the rootless, lifeless chaff that is whirled out of the threshing-floor by every gust. A life which has not in it holiness and loving obedience, however richly productive it may be in lower respects, is in inmost reality blighted and barren, and is "nigh unto burning." Goodness is fruit; all else is nothing but leaves.

Again: the Christian life is to be "fruitful in *every* good work." This tree is to be like that in the apocalyptic vision, which "bare twelve manner of fruits," yielding every month a different sort. So we should fill the whole circuit of the year with various holiness, and seek to make widely different forms of goodness our own. We have all certain kinds of excellence which are more natural and easier for us than others are. We should seek to cultivate the kind which is hardest for us. The thorn stock of our own character should bear not only grapes, but figs too, and olives as well, being grafted upon the true olive tree, which is Christ. Let us aim at this all-round and multi-form virtue, and not be like a scene for a stage, all gay and bright on one side, and dirty canvas and stretchers hung with cobwebs on the other.

The second element in the analysis of the true Christian

life is—"increasing in the knowledge of God." The figure of the tree is probably continued here. If it fruits, its girth will increase, its branches will spread, its top will mount, and next year its shadow on the grass will cover a larger circle. Some would take the "knowledge" here as the instrument or means of growth, and would render "increasing by the knowledge of God," supposing that, the knowledge is represented as the rain or the sunshine which minister to the growth of the plant. But perhaps it is better to keep to the idea conveyed by the common rendering, which regards the words "in knowledge" as the specification of that region in which the growth enjoined is to be realized. So here we have the converse of the relation between work and knowledge which we met in the earlier part of the chapter. There knowledge led to a worthy walk; here fruitfulness in good works leads to, or at all events is accompanied with, an increased knowledge. And both are true. These two work on each other a reciprocal increase. All true knowledge which is not mere empty notions, naturally tends to influence action, and all true action naturally tends to confirm the knowledge from which it proceeds. Obedience gives insight: "If any man wills to do My will, he shall know of the doctrine." If I am faithful up to the limits of my present knowledge, and have brought it all to bear on character and conduct, I shall find that in the effort to make my every thought a deed, there have fallen from my eyes as it were scales, and I see some things clearly that were faint and doubtful before. Moral truth becomes dim to a bad man. Religious truth grows bright to a good one, and whosoever strives to bring all his creed into practice, and all his practice under the guidance of his creed, will find that the path of obedience is the path of growing light.

Then comes the third element in this resolution of the Christian character into its component parts—"strength-

ened with all power, according to the might of His glory, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness." Knowing and doing are not the whole of life: there are sorrow and suffering too.

Here again we have the Apostle's favourite "all," which occurs so frequently in this connexion. As he desired for the Colossians, *all* wisdom, unto *all* pleasing, and fruitfulness in *every* good work, so he prays for *all* power to strengthen them. Every kind of strength which God can give and man can receive, is to be sought after by us, that we may be "girded with strength," cast like a brazen wall all round our human weakness. And that Divine power is to flow into us, having this for its measure and limit—"the might of His glory." His "glory" is the lustrous light of His self-revelation, and the far-flashing energy revealed in that self-manifestation is the immeasurable measure of the strength that may be ours. True, my finite nature can never contain the infinite, but my finite nature is capable of indefinite expansion. Its elastic walls stretch to contain the increasing gift. The more we desire, the more we receive, and the more we receive, the more we are able to receive. The amount which filled our hearts to-day should not fill them to-morrow. Our capacity is at each moment the working limit of the measure of the strength given us. But it is always shifting, and may be continually increasing. The only real limit is "the might of His glory," the limitless omnipotence of the self-revealing God. To that we may indefinitely approach, and till we have exhausted God we have not reached the furthest point to which we should aspire.

And what exalted mission is destined for this wonderful communicated strength? Nothing that the world thinks great: only helping some lone widow to stay her heart in patience, and flinging a gleam of brightness, like sunrise on a stormy sea, over some tempest-tossed life. The strength

is worthily employed and absorbed in producing "all patience and longsuffering with joy." Again the favourite "all" expresses the universality of the patience and longsuffering. Patience here is not merely passive endurance. It includes the idea of perseverance in the right course, as well as that of uncomplaining bearing of evil. It is the "steering right onward," without bating one jot of heart or hope; the temper of the traveller who struggles forward, though the wind in his face dashes the sleet in his eyes, and he has to wade through deep snow. While "patience" regards the evil mainly as sent by God, and as making the race set before us difficult, "longsuffering" describes the temper under suffering considered as a wrong or injury done by man. And whether we think of our afflictions in the one or the other light, God's strength will steal into our hearts, if we will, to help us to bear them not merely with perseverance and with meekness as unruffled as Christ's, but will crown both graces—as the clouds are sometimes rimmed with flashing gold—with a great light of joy. That is the highest attainment of all. "Sorrowful, yet always rejoicing." Flowers beneath the snow, songs in the night, fire burning beneath the water, "peace subsisting at the heart of endless agitation," cool airs in the very crater of Vesuvius—all these paradoxes may be surpassed in our hearts if they are strengthened with all might by an indwelling Christ.

The crown of all, the last of these elements of the Christian character, is thankfulness—"giving thanks unto the Father." This is the summit of all; and is to be diffused through all. All our progressive fruitfulness and insight, as well as our perseverance and unruffled meekness in suffering, should have a breath of thankfulness breathed through them. We shall see the grand enumeration of the reasons for thankfulness in the next verses. Here we pause for the present, with this final constituent of the life

which Paul desired for the Colossian Christians, a constituent which was to be diffused through all the others. Thankfulness should mingle with all our thoughts and feelings, like the fragrance of some penetrating perfume through the common scentless air. It should embrace all events. It should be an operating motion in all actions. We should be clear-sighted and believing enough to be thankful for pain and disappointment and loss. That gratitude will add the crowning consecration to service and knowledge and endurance. It will touch our spirits to the finest of all issues, for it will lead to glad self-surrender, and make of our whole life a sacrifice of praise. "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice." Our lives will then exhale in fragrance and shoot up in flashing tongues of ruddy light and beauty, when kindled into a flame of gratitude by the glow of Christ's great love. Let us lay our poor selves on that altar, as sacrifices of thanksgiving; for with such sacrifices God is well-pleased.

A. MACLAREN.

CANON MOZLEY.

CANON MOZLEY was one of the most interesting and significant figures of the second generation of Tractarians; if not the deepest or the strongest, he was among the subtlest theologians of his day. He touched nothing that he did not in some measure disentangle; he could not or rather he would not follow any clue to the end. He had no ambition, intellectual, or other; he was content with a firm standing ground and a clear view; he did not wish to get on. If his character had a fault it was an instinctive severity to others who did wish to form systems and pursue careers. He pities a Bishop of Chichester for

a success which only meant a necessity of being elaborately civil to people for whom he could not care. The success of Bishop Wilberforce was above such pity, but while it was in the making it was hardly judged. Out of some score of notices only two can be called kindly. Mozley admitted his "go" on a platform, and found him less artificial than he expected in society; but he hinted that a bishopric would soon be necessary to his health, which was likely to be worn out in the effort to face both ways and please both parties. In the same spirit we are told that a famous sermon "was considered by the masters and fellows likely to be very useful to the undergraduates."

There are a few good stories in the letters collected by his sister: how Dr. Pusey in a sermon on Luxury dropped his voice and addressed the heads of houses, and hoped the undergraduates would not hear; how the venerable president of Magdalen snubbed a fellow of that college who had drawn a rash university reformer into a challenge, and then put him in the Vice Chancellor's court; how Newman affected to dislike giving away his books; how Henry of Exeter looked very gruesome, and the Duke of Wellington very fit to be a bishop. But as a whole the letters are not so piquant as the "Reminiscences of Oriel." Their interest is ethical rather than historical. We learn less of the author's time than of the temper in which he watched it. One striking point is the attitude of good-humoured critical reserve to every leader but Newman. Mozley was a follower of Newman, not of the movement. When Newman went where he could not follow, Mozley drew back and let the movement, what was left of it, go its own way, not without a touch of the resentment which Newman had felt to the Anglican divines.

His own life was uneventful. He was the son of the well-known publisher. He was bullied at school by his master. At 13 he stood for a scholarship at Corpus,

being coached with some precocious solemnity by his elder brother, the author of the "Reminiscences"; at 17 he entered Oriel; at 21 (in 1834) he was placed in the third class — apparently because he was slow over a second piece of Latin Prose (second papers are never set now except in case of a doubtful pass). He had to wait six years for a fellowship; his connexion with Newman stood in his way, though Pusey's influence helped him at Magdalen at last. His election put an end to a curious experiment in the endowment of research. Newman and Pusey had taken a house where mature students of theology were to work under their direction; Mozley was the last who consented to profit by their compromising patronage. He was not idle the while. He helped to edit Froude's Remains; he worked on the "Library of the Fathers" and the *British Critic*. In 1844 the *British Critic* came to an end, and he became editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*. In 1854 he published his "Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination," soon followed by a volume on "Baptismal Regeneration," to justify the Gorham judgment; before publishing it he retired from the editorship of the *Christian Remembrancer*. In 1856 he accepted the living of Old Shoreham and married; in 1862 he published a Review of the Baptismal Controversy; in 1865 he delivered the Bampton Lectures; in 1869 he was appointed Canon of Worcester; in 1871 he returned to Oxford as Regius Professor of Divinity; in 1878 he died of a second seizure—the first had come in 1875.

In the Bampton Lectures and his later works Mozley addressed the public which remembered Newman and awaited an answer to "Essays and Reviews." A literary epicure may think that he was at his best and freshest in the earlier works, on subjects interesting to the narrower public of the *Christian Remembrancer*. That public was

very delicate and very *borné*; there was more out-of-the-way reading than now, and it was not *de rigueur* to have read the book of the day.¹ The reign of Charles I. was just then the central period of history. Mozley devoted three essays to it. Those on Strafford and Laud, whom he privately thought "a great but twisty character," are full of a romantic sympathy which does not distort the outlines. *Mutatis mutandis* he anticipates Mr. Gardiner's estimate of Strafford, he admires Laud for his homeliness and his large-heartedness, which made him the confessor of Buckingham as well as the patron of Little Gidding. Both Laud and Strafford attracted him because they failed. Carlyle's apotheosis of Cromwell and Stanley's glorification of Arnold provoked him to irony. He finds the real kingship of Cromwell a little grotesque by the hereditary kingship of Charles; where Carlyle sees all manner of heroism and simplicity, he sees a strong aspirant self-will that creates a humility in the very process of self-exaltation floating triumphant on "a large, powerful, muddy stream of supernaturalism." Arnold was too happy for him as well as too irreverent, too lacking in intellectual sympathy for opponents. The criticism on him is not ungenerous yet the well-known sermon preached at Lancing is something like a palinode. The essays on Luther and Blanco White are masterly, the last is the least unsympathetic. Luther was too boisterous, too animal, too worldly wise for Mozley. If he could not deny his greatness, he could

¹ Mozley writes in 1851, "I am reading Mill's *Logic*, *i.e.* judiciously, those parts I can understand. I am much impressed with the immense quantity of thought which he has put together, though one rather misses that very high sort of acuteness which one has in Hume and Pascal. He seems to get at his philosophy by patience and accuracy more than by genius, though one would not say he had more of the latter. And I cannot help suspecting that he made considerable blunders by some defect here, for patience and accuracy cannot do everything, and will make mistakes for want of genius, as genius will make mistakes for want of them; but I am talking prematurely." That is perfect criticism, but what college tutor now could leave a book like Mill nine years unread—true, he need not have read Hume and Pascal first.

point out how much of Lutheranism is due to the idiosyncrasies of a monk without vocation. He was less repelled by the consuming fire of candid conscientious questioning in which Blanco White's convictions gradually burnt down to a *Caput Mortuum* of pure resignation to an Unknown God.

The manner of the essays does not equal the matter; there is too much of the indirectness and perplexity of a new writer feeling his way. The defect takes another form in more substantial works; something essential is always left out, something only half relevant comes in instead.

All through Newman's Essay on Development we are face to face with the question, Is the Visible Church, the Church of the Fathers, a failure? Mozley's reply shows that he half saw this question, for he hints that failure may be slow; but he never faces it. He writes for a public that admitted the claims of the "Undivided Church" of the fifth century. He does not dispute them, yet he does not grapple with the enormous presumption that Rome is the heir to those claims if the objection from doctrinal innovations can be met. Instead, he shows that an argument thrown off at red-heat is not always scientifically exact. The idea of corruption by exaggeration is omitted—he analyses it in Newman's own best manner; he dilates on peril of idolatry because the secondary worship of Rome has a far-away resemblance to the primary worship of Canaan. He makes points like these: the Russian saints will quite bear comparison with the Irish, so the "Note of Sanctity" is not confined to Rome; St. Athanasius and even St. Cyril would have been shocked at the thought that there must be some being as glorious as the Arian Christ; Bellarmine would have shrunk from defending definitions which went beyond "*Quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus.*" But a writer who could still defend

Bull against Petavius had not much right to be scandalized even by a system which once rested on the False Decretals.

The books on Predestination and Baptism are connected by a touch of the same unconscious sophistry. Predestination and Regeneration both imply Sanctification. Predestinarians are not heretics, yet they cannot hold that all baptised persons are regenerate, for they are not all elect. As a matter of fact St. Augustine did hold this—perhaps a little against the grain—of all who did not receive baptism unworthily: they were really sanctified by the grace of baptism for the time, whether the grace of perseverance was vouchsafed them or no. But whatever we think of the connexion, the separate discussions are excellent. Few predestinarians have much sense of mystery; but it was only as a “mystery,” or rather as “one aspect of mysterious truth,” that Mozley thought Predestination tolerable. He was one of those who would rather be wrong with Butler than right with Whately: he clung obstinately to the unscriptural sense of mystery, as something which the more we think of it the less we understand—as if the “revelation” of “mysteries” were intended to confound the human understanding, not to enlighten it beyond its natural capacity. A “mystery” like “Original Sin” was not to be investigated or accounted for, at most it might be referred to when Predestination was called unjust. The right course was to recognise both Free Will and Predestination without trying to reconcile them—in a word, to imitate the apparent inconsistency of Scripture¹—since we can only attain to an obscure apprehension of truth, and cannot

¹ Throughout “Scripture” is personified; although there too different authors, by the same Spirit, set forth different aspects of truth, each of which is separately clear. Perhaps private believers are rather presumptuous when they try to see *both* with St. Paul and St. James. A more modest and helpful course might be for each to abide by those aspects of truth and those inspired teachers that each finds edifying, leaving others without dispute to other guidance.

combine the glimpses we have of it. If so, we can draw no inferences from them either positive or negative, and this anticipates Mansel's condemnation of "dogmatism" and "rationalism." Mozley was more cautious than Mansel. He would not admit that because God's perfections were imperfectly known they differed in kind from human virtues; he saw, too, that religious knowledge would seem vague and unreal compared with natural, if what he thought its limits were generally recognised. He was content that most men should think they know more than can be known; the "dogmatism" of Jonathan Edwards and the "rationalism" of Jeremy Taylor were less evils than the "scepticism" of David Hume—which for most minds was the alternative. Still, if the limits of knowledge could be safely recognised, he thought that knowledge would grow. Whenever "learned ignorance" seems to be the highest knowledge, we are told in vain¹ by some wise man that it is the condition of all future progress. The real condition of progress at such times is a new departure, not an exhaustive criticism of the tedious mass of confused scholasticism into which theology and philosophy sink so easily. The leaders of a new departure often put off the old learning if they have it, as David put off Saul's armour; they go their way and take their chance of reviving opinions rightly or wrongly exploded long ago. Till the new departure is ready there is a place for those who can trace out some of the tangled lines of thought. If we do not know what to think of Predestination, it is well to know what a predestinarian like Aquinas could do to tone it down in detail and all but put it out of sight. It is true that he seems to have accepted the doctrine without needing it, except perhaps as a corollary from that of the First Cause. More zealous predestinarians have needed the doctrine for

¹ The history of psychology from Locke to Mill may be an exception, yet positive psychology seemed barren till associated with physiology and sociology.

more pressing reasons: St. Paul to justify the calling of the Gentiles and the temporary rejection of Israel; St. Augustine to explain to himself why his own experience of prevailing grace was not universal, and to vindicate that experience against the shallowest and best-intentioned of heresiarchs; Luther and Calvin to complete the comfort which their doctrine of Justification promised to believers. There have been few disinterested predestinarians till the New England Calvinists found the question "am I elect?" even more tormenting than the question "have I saving faith?"

Indeed we are all biassed more or less. Mozley analyses the character of the typical Calvinist and the typical Arminian in one of his choicest digressions; perhaps *he* is a little biassed by his pre-occupation with responsibility; he says little of the tendency of great men of action to some form of fatalism; he does not ask—is the hypothesis of free will suggested by the fact of indecision? Nor does he follow up St. Augustine's fruitful thought¹ that by grace the will regains the freedom lost by sin, which led to St. Anselm's definition of freedom as the capacity of the will to choose good for its own sake.

A graver defect is, that in discussing two "mysterious" subjects he only applies his common sense to one. He argues that if baptised children grow up without any signs of a new nature they never were regenerate in baptism. He dissects the scholastic theory of "infused habits" of faith, hope, charity, and other supernatural virtues which produce no acts, with ironical respect; he notices that some are *born* with a disposition to virtue, ay, and to holiness; he even points out that baptism was primarily intended for adults, only secondarily for infants, and that the patristic

¹ The point is mentioned as if it were parallel to St. Paul saying that the servants of righteousness are free from sin—as the servants of sin are free from righteousness.

account of its effects rested on what adults experienced—witnessed in one another. Then why keep to the “*high priori*” road” in treating of Predestination and Grace? Why put Predestination first? it is preposterous in discussing St. Augustine? Again, did not Pelagius appeal to a more familiar experience than St. Augustine? More people feel themselves choosing and striving than feel themselves guided and helped. Do we not all seem to know some who are good because they must and others who are good because they will? This translates itself well enough into Overall and Baxter’s doctrine of Predestination, that constraining love is given to the elect and sufficient grace to all. Such a theory may be inadequate to St. Paul’s teaching in the Epistle to the Romans; but if we cannot trust common sense against the *prima facie* meaning of texts on Predestination, how are we to trust it against the *prima facie* meaning of texts on Baptism? However when Mozley applied common sense he did so on a theory which satisfied him.

Mozley leaves the question unasked, not quite unanswered. Very excellent things are spoken of the City of God and of the least of such as go in and out at her gates—all by way of supposition. Christians as such are to be taken by themselves and others as regenerate,¹ elect, a royal priesthood, saints; if they are not, the loss is theirs. That is his answer to the demand for an Ideal Church. He refuses to lower the ideal to the standard of the practical; he refuses to insist on machinery or to be content with it; he bids us be satisfied with possibilities and prospects, or choose between lowering our conception of the gift and limiting the recipients. Does this sound unreal and heartless? Few things in Newman are finer than Mozley’s

¹ Mozley has some very telling references to more than one Protestant Catechism, where Catechumens are made to assert their own election just as the Baptismal Service asserts the regeneration of all infants.

chapter on the Law of Supposition, by which institutions, relations, classes and nations are and must be idealized.

As the individual believer was to rejoice on the supposition that he was regenerate and elect, he was to obey Church authority on the supposition that Church rulers were led by the Spirit. One who began by believing both suppositions would come by acting on them to find reason for both; in this way a man might be surer that the Church was led by the Spirit than that he was. How far was the Church led? Mozley held with Jewell that the Church of England at least received nothing on the authority of the Fathers but what was embodied in her own formulas; the religion of Anglicans was a safe way of salvation, because they imposed nothing but what was clearly taught in Scripture and the Fathers; while Roman Catholics taught much which did not seem to be in Scripture, and Anabaptists were always finding much in Scripture which was not in the Fathers. If the Fathers seemed to teach much that the Church of England did not, Mozley maintained that she did teach all that the Fathers could be proved to have taught from the beginning. About the Trinity and the Incarnation and the necessity of Grace, Scripture and antiquity were clear; about everything else there was room for "schools" of opinion resting on "aspects" of truth. Such a view is made to fit the accidents of an historical position; it is easier to defend than to embrace. It will make few converts; but Mozley held that conversion is not the object of controversy, as Newman holds that controversy is not the instrument of conversion.

The main thesis¹ of the Bampton Lectures has the same quality of being perplexingly defensible. The absolute uni-

¹ It is a little confused by a doubtful identification of "Special Providences" with inconspicuous miracles. Miracles are events without known second causes; most "Special Providences" depend upon the unexplained coincidence of two or more trains of second causes, each separately clear.

formity of nature it seems is not a rational conclusion, though it is a premiss of every rational inference. It really has no ground beyond the all but invincible impression which our experience makes on our imagination. To assert human freedom, a spiritual order, a personal God, is at once an act of faith and of reason—of faith because it needs an effort to take us beyond the range of ideas which custom has made familiar—of reason because there are solid and appropriate grounds for each assertion.

Mozley recoiled from Baden Powell's theory of a spiritual and a natural order, each known on its own evidence, each removed from contact and collision with the other, so that a miracle like any other "dogmatic fact," if admitted at all, would be rather a trial than an aid to faith. Hence he put the argument for the necessity of miracles to any conceivable revelation in the extremest form. No character, no insight, no moral or spiritual ascendancy, will warrant a claim to superhuman knowledge or dignity without the unmistakable display of superhuman power. In spite of texts like "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him," "whosoever will do His will shall know of the doctrine," which point to a belief that piety surely recognises whatever truth can be imparted to sanctity—in spite of the paradox that when God did tempt Abraham, the father of the faithful had to be assured by signs and wonders that the temptation came from on high—there are advantages in the argument that the natural man is entitled to ask those who offer information beyond his own reach about a spiritual order, for credentials which he can appreciate. For as he commonly needs to be assured that there is a spiritual order at all, there is a presumption in favour of interruptions of the order of nature. This presumption serves to reinforce the analogy between Divine and human freedom on which Mozley relies. Otherwise it might be asked why, if our freedom interrupts the order

of nature in which it subsists, the Freedom of God, in whom the order of nature is established, should interrupt it too? It might be argued that to make general rules which generally work well and can be set aside on occasion—like Bank Charter Acts—is very well for earthly rulers who are not omnipotent or omniscient.

One wishes that Mozley had grappled with the ultimate question: Are the natural and spiritual order really continuous and one; is the natural order sustained through the spiritual. If so, our knowledge of the two may still be discontinuous and disparate, just as our knowledge of our own minds and bodies is. Materialists and spiritualists agree at last that what we cannot combine without confusion is really one. "The reasonable soul and flesh is one man," whether Plato was right or wrong in saying that mind is older and more of a first principle than body. From this point of view a miracle might be provisionally defined as an event in the natural order with no known antecedent except in the spiritual order.

But after discrediting Baden Powell's theory of the natural order as a closed circle, self-complete and self-contained, Mozley continued to apply it. Neither the authority of Butler nor the tempting illustration offered by Babbage, could seduce him to close with the hypothesis of "unknown law." Even apart from the confused notion of a "higher law" to which we might reduce the known laws of nature and the unknown law of miracles—"the discovery" of the latter "amounted to supposition of a new order of nature." "A law of nature in the scientific sense has reference to our experience alone." A miracle must be contrary to the order of nature as we know it, in which it is impossible to calculate upon miracles.

It is also impossible to calculate upon the appearance of a new comet; it is imaginable that we might come to understand a new miracle as we understand a new comet—

as a fresh instance of the action of a well marked group of powers imperfectly known. We can know nothing perfectly till we can compare many observations made at our leisure under known conditions. Again, cures are wrought by faith—in God or in imposing remedies. We do not know how either are wrought; but the comparison makes both less perplexing, more credible. Our carnal mind is relieved to think that a physical effect follows on a physical process, though we do not know it, and do know the spiritual power of the gifted saint or favoured believer which starts the process. So, too, we may compare the stigmata with the case of the lady whose own ankle was marked by a blow she expected to see fall on a child. Once more the stories of saints rising from the ground in prayer,—of Buddhists and witches flying through space—of the “levitation of mediums,” all hang together; if one of the four stood alone it might be *mere* fancy, *mere* trickery, it takes more to get rid of the four. “Mediums” are tricky, saints are not; witches are half starved, “mediums” are not. We want an explanation which will fit all the cases; while if one class of cases were authenticated, we should believe in all.

No comparison of possible observations helps us to guess *how* miracles happen; if we must look for a “law” of miracles at all, it must be a law not of the “how” but of the “when”—at what periods, within what circles, are contemporary miracles taken seriously by men of sense and character. An enquiry of this kind is perhaps a preliminary to an examination of the testimony to any group of miracles. Otherwise we may be met by an assertion that “the general stream of miraculous pretension” (which certainly must be treated as a whole) runs fullest in ages of ignorance and excitement, that it is precisely when testimony is most worthless that miracles are attested best. Mozley certainly refuted the sophistry, that if miracles

can be proved by evidence they need immeasurably more evidence than other facts. As certainly he over-rated Paley's argument that the testimony of the first witnesses of the Resurrection must be true, because it cost them dear. Did not the poor saints of Jerusalem receive an hundred-fold in this present time, when the abundance of the Gentiles flowed in upon them? Had any who went up with the Master to the last Passover the choice of going back to be as others who counted the cost in time and let the Christ go by? The only choice His followers had was to sit down with spoiled lives, or to cleave at all hazards to the greatest of memories, the greatest of hopes. By Pentecost their choice was made.

The University Sermons, like the Bampton Lectures, are convincing if we will keep to the questions the preacher asks. For instance, in a sermon on the Atonement, Mozley sets forth the power and the glory of the cross; he proves ingeniously that the objects of self-sacrificing love are, and ought to be more favourably regarded for the sake of that love; the question which since the days of St. Anselm has been a stumbling block in the way of all theories of the Atonement, "can a sinner be rightly forgiven simply on his own repentance and amendment?" is left unanswered and unasked. In the sermon on the Vatican Council, the obvious comments on the text, "My kingdom is not of this world," are balanced by splendid pictures of Hildebrand's ethical indignation against the tainted origin of secular rule, and of the Papacy preparing for the downfall of the temporal power by a final statement of all its claims; yet the sermon is one-sided after all. Theocracy can always appeal to the text, "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ," is the Church to allow them to apostatize at pleasure? Hildebrand only bore the same witness in the Holy Roman empire as "sweet Samuel Rutherford" bore afterwards

For Zion's King and Zion's laws,
And Scotland's covenanted cause.

Comtists are treated with the same ineffectual candour as Vaticanists. Mozley refutes their claims to be more "altruistic" than Christians without resenting it, but he insists that subjective immortality is only a new name for posthumous fame. "*Vivre dans autrui*" means more than this. As the Spirit strives or even reigns in those whose eyes are holden that they know Him not, so the spirit of ancient worthies may live on in those who never heard their names.

The argument that beauty is only recognised by reason is happier; but the strength of the sermons lies rather in psychology than in dialectic. For instance, the difficulty of conversion is illustrated by a commentary on Aristotle's saying, that no one would care for anything that could be gained by becoming some one else, and the reversal of human judgment is explained by the way in which, as a man deteriorates or improves, old good or evil habits shrink into a mere shell or coating over the true character that has been growing unseen. There is equal insight in a sermon on Unspoken Judgment. The preacher dwells on the difficulty and the duty of maintaining an estimate of others, which it is equally culpable to abandon and to express. It is a true and subtle distinction, that those who live among equals find life a probation, while those who live for inferiors make it a mission. The famous sermon on the Pharisees is perhaps as remarkable for its limits as for its power. Pharisaism was no doubt a new invention in evil, but the Pharisees are not made intelligible as a concrete historical phenomenon; we get no explanation of how the Talmud comes to repeat the charges of the Gospel, no explanation even of the spontaneous homage of a respectable neutral character like Josephus.

In fact, Mozley had very little sense for the externals of

history, though he was profoundly interested in it; he was something like a geologist who should set himself to trace the secular action of chemical changes in the crust of the earth, without any clear apprehension of the mechanical action of denudation and deposition. The whole book on the ruling ideas of early ages is worthy of its title. The writer sees ideas, and hardly anything else; all the difficulties of the Old Testament are explained by the fact that Israel had an idea of solidarity which we have not and had not an idea of individual right which we have. Is the latter idea the higher? Mozley does not ask. He even discusses the justice of killing all the Canaanites, though the Pentateuch clearly implies that most of them were to be driven out. He assumes on the whole that the order to wage a war of extermination was congenial. It is clear both from the precepts in Deuteronomy and the history in Judges, that it was not; the instinct of Israel was to let the eye pity and the hand spare. Mozley condemned the instinct so far as he recognised it, and argued that it is better for an age to act up to its own standard than to anticipate the temper of another. He does not notice that Saul was condemned by the mouth of David's prophets for his attempt to apply the legislation of Deuteronomy within the Promised Land, while his reluctance to apply that legislation beyond it incurred the sentence of Samuel, in whose days there was peace between Israel and the Amorites. The fundamental thought of the book is itself unconvincing. Revelation is given to re-create and to transfigure those to whom it comes. To say that one precept or another was given for the hardness of men's hearts, is not to say that a revelation as a whole must be adapted to and limited by the state of the recipients; if it makes them capable of one truth they could not attain, one virtue they could not practise of themselves, it may make them capable of any. How can it be said that Jael could not comprehend that

treachery to a guest, if he were an enemy of God's people, was a sin, when in the *Iliad* and the *Avesta* we find truthfulness magnified by heathen without the law? Nor does it really meet the difficulty of the Old Testament that Christianity grew out of it. Christianity is clearly the culmination of the mighty movement of prophecy from Amos to Ezekiel and Jeremy; but this movement appears at first not so much a continuation of what has gone before, as a reaction from it, and the appearance has to be explained before the argument will hold. Besides, the heart of the difficulty lies elsewhere. Comparing the Pentateuch with other ancient codes no one would think it is overpraised in Deuteronomy, but comparing the Chosen People with other ancient nations, one feels that the Lawgiver was right again. The Law found Israel unlovely, and left him so. At the very best in the days of the Maccabees, when Israel had put away idols, and the Law was not yet made of none effect by men's traditions, the Syrians prevailed whenever they put forth their strength, the Greeks beat Persia fairly. The fact is that since the Renaissance the judgment and the conscience of the natural man approves of and delights in pagan antiquity, taking it at its best, as a man like Plutarch approved of it and delighted in it; the only important difference being that our standard of sexual morality happily is still nearly as strict as that of the ancient Germans, and in one particular stricter, while taking Hebrew antiquity as a whole, from Isaac to Akiba, the natural judgment and conscience never get beyond unwilling respect. To get beyond respect to sympathy we must cast culture, civilisation, liberty behind us, with the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. It is a serious difficulty; it hardly lightens it that the Desire of All Nations grew up in Israel—as a root out of a dry ground.

G. A. SIMCOX.

*THE BOOK OF DANIEL IN THE LIGHT OF
RECENT RESEARCH AND DISCOVERY.*

SINCE the publication of the second edition of the *Speaker's Commentary* (O. T., Vol. vi.), containing the Book Daniel, research and discovery have thrown much light on one historical passage, and interested Biblical students largely in a second.

(I.) Dan. iii. 1.—In the Scripture record Nebuchadnezzar orders to be made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits and the breadth six cubits, and this he set up in the plain of Dura. The erection of a costly image "of magnified royalty" is no longer a matter of difficulty. I allow myself to refer the reader to my notes on that passage in proof of the position that the act was one quite intelligible to the Assyrians and Babylonians. But the question of size has often been a matter of difficulty to some, and proof positive of mistake to others.

The English excavations at San (Tanis-Zoan) have, however, disinterred from the Egyptian Pompeii that which illustrates the act of Nebuchadnezzar, if it did not suggest it. Mr. Petrie¹ has discovered there the cut up colossus of Rameses II. It proves to have been the most stupendous colossus hitherto known. There are other giant-statues, such as those of the colossi of Abu-Simbel, the colossi of the Plain, and the torso of the Ramesseum. These are seated figures, and of comparatively soft material. But the colossal Rameses II. was an erect figure, sculptured out of the hard red granite of Assouan; and it weighed 1,200 tons. Rameses stood up, a crowned figure, the back supported by a pilaster, 100 feet high from top to toe, or 115 feet high, including his pedestal. The statue towered some 65 feet above the surrounding obelisks and temple, and must have been visible for miles across the plain.

¹ See *The Times* of May 30, 1884.

It would be impossible to affirm that this statue was still *in situ* when Nebuchadnezzar undertook his wars against Egypt. Egypt had suffered terribly at the hands of Piankhi, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal, since the reputed Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" (Exod. i. 8) rendered himself and his empire famous by his personal exploits, the magnificence of his monuments, and the duration of his reign. The precedent, followed by Rameses himself, of effacing from obelisks the inscriptions of the 11th and 12th Dynasties, and decorating these "palimpsests of stone" with his own titles and cartouches, would only be too certainly repeated by the Sheshonk of three hundred years later. To decapitate statues, to hew obelisks in pieces, to cut up colossi, would have been no sacrilegious act to Ethiopian and Assyrian conquerors. It may, however, be assumed that the erection of the image by Nebuchadnezzar took place after a successful campaign or series of campaigns. In this he but followed the precedent of a Shalmaneser and a Sargon. Can such a campaign be at all fixed? A Babylonian inscribed fragment of his reign lately translated and published by Mr. Pinches,¹ draws attention to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar either personally or by his generals twice attacked Egypt. The first invasion was conducted by the king himself against his last unsubdued and deadly foe. In the year 572 B.C.—the thirty-third of his reign—Nebuchadnezzar completely overran the country, plundering and destroying on every side. Hophra, the king of Egypt, was defeated and deposed (cf. Jer. xlv. 30). His place was taken by a general (probably a relative) named Ahmes or Amasis. Four years elapsed, and Amasis revolted; and Nebuchadnezzar, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, sent a force to Egypt to put down the revolt.²

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (T.S.B.A.)*, vii. 210, etc.

² A slightly different interpretation of this inscription will be found in Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 139; cf. Meyer (E.), *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. p. 596.

Zoan would certainly lie in the path of any Babylonian invading army, and it would be visited and held by Nebuchadnezzar's troops in the war of B.C. 572. Is the conjecture inadmissible, that the record of the colossus of Rameses II., if not the inspection of the fragments themselves, gave birth to, or finally fixed, the resolution that the plain of Dura should see a golden colossus of the Rameses of Babylon? Such a date seems preferable to the somewhat mythical campaign against Egypt recorded by Megasthenes in Josephus,¹ and by Abydenus in Eusebius,² having taken place in the twenty-fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and preferable also to the date of the not-personally conducted expedition against Amasis.

I venture, therefore, to conjecture that it was in commemoration of his Egyptian victories, and especially of those of B.C. 572, that Nebuchadnezzar reared his image. It was a colossus of about 100 feet high³—of the same height as that of Rameses without the pedestal—and from thirty to forty feet higher than the obelisk on the Thames Embankment. Before it bowed "princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces."

Centuries elapsed before the Egyptian colossus was discovered. May a similar fortune reward sooner the successful explorer, Mr. Rassam, in his researches in "the plain of Dura."

(II.) Dan. v.—Belshazzar, Cyrus, Darius. The interest created by the discovery and decipherment of the three inscriptions connected with this chapter has been universal.⁴

¹ *Antiq.*, X. xi. 1.

² *Chron. Arm.*, i. 59.

³ In Dan. iii. 1 the height is sixty cubits. Taking the mean between the 19 or 21 inches assigned to the Hebrew cubit by Messrs. Madden and Hole, 60 cubits = 60 × 20 inches or 100 feet.

⁴ Cf. the special chapters or sections in Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, and *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*; Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*; Rawlinson, *Egypt and Babylon*. The criticisms and opinions of foreign savants—e.g. Delattre, Delitzsch, Evers, Halévy, and of American con-

The earliest of them gives an account of the first part of the reign of Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar. Nabonidus acquired the throne of Babylonia by the assassination of Labasi-marduk, the last scion of Nebuchadnezzar's house (c. B.C. 556), and the inscription describes the policy of a king careful to propitiate the powerful priest-caste of Babylon as well as its "too superstitious" population. An enemy called the Sabmanda (Budge; "barbarians," Sayce) had gone to Haran and had destroyed the temple of Sin (the moon-god). "In the beginning of my long reign," says Nabonidus, "Merodach (Marduk) the great lord, and Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, the strengthener of all, showed me a dream. Merodach spake with me, Nabonidus, King of Babylon . . . rear up the walls of E-hulhul (the Temple of Rejoicing, Sayce), and fix the dwelling place of Sin the great lord within it." Nabonidus replies that the Sabmanda which had destroyed it were strong and their forces terrible; but Merodach promises that "they shall not exist, neither they nor their country, nor the kings their allies." The promise was fulfilled in the third year of his reign, but not by the arms of the Babylonians. Merodach "made Cyrus the king of Anzan (southern and western Elam, according to Sayce; or, Susiana generally, Meyer), his young servant to go. He overthrew the wide-spreading Sabmanda, he captured Astyages King of Sabmanda, and took his treasures to his own land." This left Nabonidus free to execute the wish of the gods. He began the restoration of the temple of Haran, and employed for the purpose his army summoned from Gaza. He followed up this act by similar acts of renovation or restoration of the

tributors to the subject will be found in the papers enumerated in the *Bibliographie* of Bezold and Hommel's *Zeitschrift für Keilschrift-forschung*, Vol. I. 83 etc. 725 etc. 364 etc. or of Kuhn's *Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie*, Vol. I. 89 etc. 812 etc. Consult also Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 433 etc. (2nd edition); Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i. p. 601, etc.

temples of the sun-god (Samas) and of Anunit at Sippara (Abu-Habba)¹; and with this period is probably to be connected a very beautiful prayer composed by him after the erection of the temple to Sin at Mugheir or Ur.² It is a prayer invoking the protection of the deity over his country, himself, and his son; and is especially interesting as containing the name of Belshazzar:—"O Sin, lord of the gods, king of the gods of heaven and earth, . . . set the fear of thy great divinity in the hearts of his (*i.e.* Nabonidus') men that they err not. For thy great divinity may their foundations remain firm like the heavens. As for me, Nabonidus, the King of Babylon, preserve me from sinning against thy great divinity, and grant me the gift of life of long days; and plant in the heart of Bilu-sarra-utsur (Belshazzar), my eldest son, the offspring of my heart, reverence for the great divinity, and never may he incline to sin; with fulness of life may he be satisfied."

Two points should be noticed here. (1) The statement in the former of these inscriptions that not Nabonidus, but Cyrus, should (like another Jael rather than a Barak) be the god-chosen one to destroy the enemies of the gods, veils but thinly the inertness which gradually possessed Nabonidus, and as a historical fact is confirmed by the second of the inscriptions, the annalistic tablet of Cyrus. It was in the sixth year of Nabonidus that "Astyages gathered his army and marched against Cyrus, King of Elam; but the soldiers of Astyages revolted from him, and seized him, and delivered him up to Cyrus. Cyrus proceeded to the land of Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, the gold, the furniture, and the spoil of the land of Ecbatana he car-

¹ See the *Proceedings of S. B. A.* for Nov. 7th, 1882. For the identification of Sippara—the Sepharvaim of the Bible—with Abu-habba, see the papers by Mr. Pinches and Mr. Rassam in the *T. S. B. A.* viii. 164–197.

² The prayer is found on a cylinder, one of four, each containing the same text, and buried at the four corners of the temple at Ur. The translation in the text is from Sayce, *Fresh Light* etc., Appendix iii.

ried away, and brought the furniture and the spoil which he had taken to the land of Elam."

(2) The "piety" which marked the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus was great. That it was sincere, that it produced any example for good on his son Belshazzar, Holy Scripture and the subsequent events detailed by the Inscriptions unite in questioning.

Nabonidus dwelt in the city Tema (a suburb of Babylon), and to his son Belshazzar was entrusted the care of the army in Accad (Northern Babylonia). It may be assumed that the "son of the king" shared in some degree the government with his father, as Nebuchadnezzar had shared it with Nabopolassar, and that the title of "King" (by courtesy) given to Belshazzar by Daniel is correct. Inactivity both at home and abroad marked both Nabonidus and his son; and the religious festivals were neglected.¹ From the seventh to the eleventh years of his reign this combination of inactivity and irreligion was gradually doing its work of deteriorating the army, of irritating those who considered him an usurper, and of alienating the priesthood. Nabonidus was slowly but surely preparing the way for the conqueror Cyrus. When the break in the annalistic tablet ceases, the record opens in the seventeenth year of Nabonidus, the tribes of the Lower Sea² were in revolt, and Nabonidus had turned to his neglected gods. Their images were now brought from their various shrines to Babylon in the hope that they might avert the capture of the city: but priests and people were against one whose neglect of Merodach—the patron-god—had been so marked. Cyrus, the conqueror of Media in B.C. 549, marched against Nabonidus in B.C. 539: "In the month Tammuz (June)

¹ Cf. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, xii. p. 70; Pinches "On a Cuneiform Tablet Relating to the Capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the events which preceded and led to it," *T.S.B.A.* vii. 139, etc.

² The Mediterranean, according to Pinches; the Persian Gulf, according to Sayce.

Cyrus made battle in Rutum . . . the men of Accad revolted." If Rutum (or Rutuv) was (as appears probable) some distance south of Babylon, this detail shows the extent of the line of military operations. It was literally from north to south. Gradually Cyrus narrowed his circle till his troops were ready to close in upon the devoted city. The revolt in Accad unquestionably favoured him; and the conjecture is not inadmissible that it was made easier through the absence of Belshazzar. The effects of that revolt were felt at Sippara, in which Nabonidus was at this time to be found. Sippara was taken "on the fourteenth day without fighting," and Nabonidus fled into Babylon. Babylon was supposed impregnable. The river was paved with brick and lined with great walls; and on all sides rose works of defence attributed by Herodotus to Queen Nitocris. Yet in two days after the taking of Sippara the converging troops had captured "Babylon the great." "On the sixteenth day Gobryas, the governor of Gutium (Kurdistan, Sir H. Rawlinson) and the army of Cyrus came to Babylon without any opposition. Afterwards, having bound Nabonidus, he took him to Babylon." A fruitless and defenceless resistance on the part of some rebels closed against Gobryas for a time the temple of Saggil, but "neither in that temple nor in any of the temples of the country were found any weapons"; and when Cyrus himself "descended to Babylon" four months later, "he made peace to the city, to the whole of Babylon." He "appointed Gobryas to be governor in Babylon, together with others." In a year's time Nabonidus died. . . . "All the people were free from their chief" (cf. Job iii. 19).

The account given by Cyrus himself—in the third of the inscriptions alluded to—of the capture of Babylon corresponds virtually with this record, while it represents him as the champion of the outraged deities. His acts are

invested with all the sacredness of deeds wrought at the instigation of the gods, his campaign is raised to the dignity of a religious war. The cylinder of Cyrus states in so many words that Nabonidus had neglected the worship of the gods, and that they were angry with him.¹ "The gods . . . left their shrines in anger when (Nabonidus) brought them to Babylon. Merodach went about to all men, wherever their seats were" (*i.e.* Merodach did not appear at the sacred feasts which were celebrated within Kal-anna; he had taken himself away to other peoples, Budge). "He appointed a king to guide aright in the heart what his hand upholds. Cyrus, King of Elam, he proclaimed by name for the sovereignty. . . . The men of Kurdistan and all the barbarians (the dark races) he made bow down to his feet, the men of the black-headed race . . . he governed in justice and righteousness. Merodach, the great lord, the restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his vicegerent, who was righteous in hand and heart. To his city of Babylon he (Merodach) summoned his (Cyrus') march, and he bade him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side. The weapons of his vast army, whose numbers, like the waters of a river, could not be known, he marshalled at his side. Without fighting or battle he caused him to enter into Babylon; his city of Babylon feared; in a place difficult of access, Nabonidus the king, who worshipped him not, he gave into his hand. The men of Babylon, all of them, (and) the whole of Sumer and Accad, the nobles and priests who had revolted, kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his sovereignty." And then the conqueror bursts forth in proud exultation:—"I am Cyrus, the king of legions, the king of Sumer and Accad, . . .

¹ Cf. Sayce, *Fresh Light* etc., p. 146; Budge, p. 79. The translations given by these gentlemen do not always agree in individual words and expressions; but the facts presented by them are substantially the same.

of the ancient seed-royal, whose rule has been beloved by Bel and Nebo, whose sovereignty they cherished according to the goodness of their hearts. At that time I entered Babylon in peace. With joy and gladness I enlarged the seat of my dominion in the palace of the kings. Merodach, the great lord, (cheered) the heart of his servant, whom the sons of Babylon (obeyed each) year and day. . . . My vast armies he marshalled peacefully in the midst of Babylon. Throughout Sumer and Accad I had no revilers. The sanctuaries of Babylon and all its fortresses I established in peace." After enumerating his work of restoration of the shrine of Merodach, and the submission of the kings "of all regions from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea," he records how "he settled in peace in their sanctuaries, by the command of Merodach, the great lord, the gods of Sumer and Accad whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of gods, had brought into Babylon," and he closes with the following prayer:—"In the goodness of their hearts may all the gods whom I have brought into their strong places daily intercede before Bel and Nebo that they should grant me length of days. May they bless my projects with prosperity, and may they say to Merodach my lord, that Cyrus the king, thy worshipper, and Kambyses his son (deserve his favour)."

There is a great deal in these profoundly interesting voices from the tomb of ages which to some is revolutionary of all hitherto-accepted historical conclusions and Biblical statements. Is this really the case?

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(To be continued.)

A CAMPAIGNER'S BEVERAGE.

INTERPRETERS of all schools of critical or theological opinion are substantially agreed as to the origin and the meaning of the 110th Psalm. That it is a work of the age of David, and that it describes the Divine protection, the Divine assurance of victory vouchsafed to a theocratic king like David, may be assumed as certain. Whether the theocratic king is actually king David, as contemplated by a devout and loyal fellow-soldier, or whether the tradition is right, that David himself is the author, contemplating the conquests of a king who should realize the theocratic ideal better than he had done, is no doubt an interesting question—from one point of view,¹ an important one. But the interpretation of the successive verses of the Psalm, the significance of each detail in its imagery, will be the same either way. The king is described as a conqueror of the same type as David; the manner of his conquests is conceived in terms of the experience afforded by David's.

This applies especially to the last three verses, where the imagery of a military conquest is worked out in most detail. The king who, at the beginning of the Psalm, was invited to share the Divine throne, has now risen from it and gone forth to battle. But the Lord, who was with him in his rest, is with him in his struggles too. The Divine and the human warrior go forth—not *riding* together like Athene and Diomedes, for David appears never to have used a chariot in battle²—but marching side by side and shield

¹ Namely, because of the endorsement of the tradition by the Son of David (Matt. xxii. 43, etc.). The *general* Messianic application of the Psalm would not be affected, if we supposed it rather a prophecy of a type of Christ's kingdom than a prophecy of His kingdom directly. All Christians are content to understand Ps. lxxii. in the former sense.

² In the last campaign in which he took part personally, he "waxed faint," and was then in danger from a sword-stroke. Now even a giant would naturally use a spear to reach a man in a chariot (2 Sam. xxi. 15-17). Of course Doré's picture of the three heroes on horseback is recklessly unhistorical.

by shield. And the Lord, who gave the king the post of honour before, gives him the post of safety now; He stands Himself at his right hand, covering his unshielded side. With such an ally, the overthrow of the king's enemies is assured; at once the kings of the hostile confederacy are slaughtered, and their armies routed. But flight shall not save even the remnant of them; their conqueror¹ is as unwearied in the pursuit as irresistible in the combat. The pursuit is conceived as taking place through a difficult country—perhaps like the scene of David's early wanderings in "the south of Judah;" perhaps more like those of his later campaigns against Edom, Moab, and Ammon—where the fugitives hope to shake off their pursuers by leading them down and up the steep sides of rocky ravines. But the pursuer is not to be shaken off. He may come to the torrent side, like another Israelite hero, "faint yet pursuing," but in the midst of the fatigue he finds fresh supplies of strength. Without any halt he "drinks of the brook *in the way*"—doubtless like Gideon's chosen men, without so much as "bowing down on the knees to drink"—and then "lifts up the head," more ready than before for the next ascent.

Perhaps some apology is due for working out, in full anthropomorphic detail and in prosaic expansion, an image which is only briefly and indirectly suggested by the Psalmist. Of course, even if he realized the image more self-consciously than an impassioned poet usually does, no one can doubt that David and his contemporaries, whatever their precise degree of spiritual enlightenment, must have felt that such crude anthropomorphism could not be more

¹ There is nothing to indicate a change of subject after the fifth verse; yet the last two would be more naturally understood of the king than of his Divine guardian. Possibly, as the Psalmist went on, he felt less and less the distinction of attributes between them; even as St. John sees the "Son of Man" endued with the features before seen in "the Ancient of Days" (Dan. vii.; Rev. i.).

than metaphorically applicable to their God. But the metaphor which the Psalmist hints at is, apparently, that which we have worked out in detail; and whatever limits may be required in adapting this image to the thing signified, we can take the image in its fullest and most literal sense, as a description of the course of war in David's age, by a man who knew well what war was.

And in one point even a man of peace can share this warrior's experience. The fatigues and the refreshments of marching through mountain country are much the same, whether the march be in pursuit of a flying enemy or only in pursuit of health and beauty. The discouraging labour of crossing a ravine or chine—still more if crossing one after another—is the same; the refreshment derived in doing so from "the brook in the way," is the same too. And experience in either case shows that "the brook in the way" is the safest source of refreshment to look to. "The pure element," says Murray's *Swiss Handbook*, "is never harmful; but wine or brandy takes away the power of the legs." Prophets and Psalmists were not afraid to liken the Lord their God to "a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine," when that image was really suitable; but this Psalmist knew what he was telling of when here he represents the mighty man as refreshed by the brook, not the wine-flush.

In fact, we see the fitness and truthfulness of this image in the few historical descriptions that we have in any detail of David's marches, or of the supplies he required for them. In his pursuit of the captors of Ziklag, recorded in 1 Sam. xxx., we notice both the nature of the fatigues of the march and the absence of wine, even when it might have been useful; when, if not absent, it would certainly have been used. David and his men had marched without straggling from Ziklag to Aphek and back (1 Sam. xxix. 1; xxx. 1). The distance is unknown, but apparently the return took

three days. Then followed—after perhaps one night's delay—a forced march into the southern desert; and this tried the strength of the men, who doubtless were none the fitter for severe labour for having “wept till they had no more power to weep.” Again the distance traversed is unknown, and even the time spent is not stated; but we find that it was the “brook” or ravine of Besor that finally checked one-third of the force. From ver. 21, “where David halted in the ravine,” it appears that they went down to the bottom; but they were unable to face the climb on the opposite side. It was apparently David's forethought that brought them so far, to halt by the brook in the English sense; but they were past “lifting up the head” when they drank of it. This only was gained—that their comrades had no need to leave them any of their water supply.

For it is plain that they were carrying water with them, from the next incident of their march—the recovery of the sick and half-starved Egyptian slave who became their guide. Indeed, “they gave him bread to eat, and made him drink water,” might perhaps be a general, half-proverbial phrase, used for food and drink of any kind; but if so, when in the next verse we are told what the food was which was actually given, we should doubtless be told of the drink, if it had been other than water literally. “They gave him a piece of a cake of figs,” in which there is real nourishment, “and two clusters of raisins,” as a restorative: but he could not eat the dry fruit without drinking, so they gave him water; now wine, if they had had any, would have served the purpose both of the water and the raisins.

Seeing that David's men had started, perhaps only a week before, equipped for what might have been a long campaign (see 1 Sam. xvii. 16), it is not likely that the destruction of Ziklag had made them take less than their

ordinary rations with them. It is indeed likely enough that David's men—mostly adventurers "bitter of soul," and including not a few "men of Belial" (xxii. 2; xxx. 2)—were less to be trusted with wine than either an ordinary national army, or a disciplined force of professional soldiers, such as David gathered round him (apparently with these men as a nucleus) in the course of his reign. But even when he had this disciplined army, though he was willing to have it supplied with wine in such quantities as might be useful, he knew that it was only useful in limited quantities and on special occasions. At the time of his flight from Absalom it was evidently an acceptable supply when Ziba brought "two hundred loaves of bread, and one hundred clusters of raisins, and one hundred of summer fruits (ripe figs?) and a vessel of wine."¹ These supplies, and whatever more of the same sort David had with him, have their uses clearly distinguished. "The bread and summer fruit (figs?) are for the young men to eat; and the wine, that *such as be faint in the wilderness* may drink": the raisins too, probably, would be mostly reserved for the latter purpose (2 Sam. xvi. 1, 2). And, when David's household and household troops had reached Mahanaim—when they had received abundant supplies, and probably reinforcements, from the still loyal chieftains beyond Jordan—among the provisions of all kinds enumerated (xvii. 27-9) there is no mention of wine. Yet the wine of Heshbon and Sibmah was famous over all Israel, and it is incredible that Ammon and Gilead can have been destitute of what Moab excelled in. Doubtless David on his part, and on the other part Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai—all, probably, men used to border warfare in their time, though

¹ We can hardly argue however, that Ziba's one skin (or other vessel of wine) was all that David had or wished for. From 2 Kings iv. 42, 43, we may gather that 200 loaves of bread were ridiculously insufficient to give one meal to 1,000 men; and David must have had more than twice that number. Ziba's two ass-loads might conveniently supply one or two hundred men for a day.

until now on opposite sides—knew that wine was not a necessary item in the commissariat of an army, though it might hold a valuable place among the medical stores.

This paper is not intended as a plea for temperance, but simply to bring together for mutual illustration the facts and the thoughts of David's age. Still, we cannot help noticing that the healthy instincts of primitive man, living a simple and natural life, or one morally above the natural level, exactly anticipated the conclusions to which modern physiology appears to be leading us, slowly and after much oscillation. Mohammed, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab before him, were very likely right in judging that nomads and savages are not to be trusted with wine at all; the experience of the aborigines of America and Polynesia tends to show that they were. David, however, had to do with a people less incapable of self-control; and among them he encouraged the use of wine on occasions of gladness, even of religious gladness (2 Sam. vi. 19). No doubt he, like other Israelite prophets and sages, held that "wine measurably drunk¹ and in season bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind"; he might clearly distinguish its functions in "making glad the heart of man" from that of the bread which "strengtheneth" it; but this did not forbid him to allow of its festive use, as well as of its bestowal on "him that is ready to perish, and those that

¹ It does not appear that the Scripture anywhere "defines moderation." Yet it is not so impossible to do so as some total abstainers say. It was done tolerably well 250 years ago by a Christian moralist—George Herbert. His "drink not the third glass" agrees (allowing for the different-sized glasses ordinarily used for beer, light wine, or strong wine) with what is now called "the physiological quantity" of alcohol. But neither David nor George Herbert contemplated the use of ardent spirits; and no doubt the introduction of these, as it has totally altered the physiological aspect of the question, so has introduced new considerations as to its moral aspect. Total abstainers are within their right when, on this ground, they refuse to be absolutely bound by Scriptural precedent. For that very reason, they are less excusable when they falsify by special pleading the evidence of Scripture. It is really as certain that the wine drunk by David, and the Son of David, was fermented, as that it was not distilled into brandy nor "fortified" with brandy.

be of heavy heart" (Ecclus. xxxi. 28; Ps. civ. 15; Deut. xiv. 26; Prov. xxxi. 6). But David knew that wine is not a good beverage to work on, however useful it may be as a restorative after overwork; even as a restorative, he knew that there are good substitutes for it, and for other purposes he treated it as at best a harmless luxury. The only occasion when we can *prove* that he personally used wine is in the shameful story of Uriah's drunkenness; still it is unlikely that in this the king risked notice by a conspicuous departure from his ordinary habits, and we may suppose that he often—perhaps habitually—drank wine with his evening meal in time of peace. But we know that, in his warrior youth, his best-loved luxury was "the water of the well of Beth-lehem that is by the gate" (2 Sam. xxiii. 15).

WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX.

RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It is a pleasure to note the appearance of the Third Edition of Dr. Cheyne's *Isaiah*.¹ The work remains substantially the same as in the previous editions, though almost every page bears evidence of careful revision, and shows that the author is constantly on the watch for every fresh fragment of knowledge which may serve to throw new light upon the prophecies. One of the essays at the end of vol. ii.—that on "The Royal Messiah in Genesis"—has been omitted, and a new one on "The Suffering Messiah" takes its place. Dr. Cheyne's work is happily too well and widely known already to need fresh recommendation to Biblical students. Even those who—from widely different standpoints—may regard his critical reserve and absence of dogmatism with suspicion, cannot

¹ *The Prophecies of Isaiah. A New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices.* By the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., Honorary D.D., Edinburgh; Rector of Tendring, Essex, and late Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford. Third edition, revised. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884.)

fail to enjoy the freshness and independence of thought, and to profit by the diligent research and extensive learning, which distinguish his volumes.

It is difficult to give in a few sentences a just impression of Mr Sharpe's *Notes and Dissertations on Hosea*.¹ Hebrew students will find the notes useful, but far from complete. There are few, if any, references to grammars for further illustration and elucidation of difficulties; but, indeed, on grammatical questions Mr. Sharpe follows in the main old Jewish authorities, to the neglect of modern investigations, as may be seen, *e.g.* from his note on the "future" tense on p. 121. The versions are comparatively seldom referred to, and the Masoretic text is regarded as immaculate. Still, much may be gained from the book, even by those who find themselves constantly compelled to differ from the author's conclusions. He calls attention to many points which are in danger of being unduly neglected in the modern study of the Old Testament. The most important dissertations are those on "The Religion of Ephraim," and "Hosea and the Canon." In the first of these Mr. Sharpe seeks to prove that the calf-worship of the Northern Kingdom was not intended to be a worship of Jehovah, who was regarded as the local God of Judah, having no claim upon Ephraim's obedience. Jeroboam wished to break away from the worship of Jehovah, and "found in the patriarchal idea of El Shaddai a starting-point for his idolatry." The best part of the essay is that in which Mr. Sharpe shows the improbability of such a discontinuity between the teaching of Elijah and Elisha and that of Hosea and Amos as is assumed by Kuenen and others, who allege that Elijah approved of the calf-worship, or at all events did not discourage it. In the essay on "Hosea and the Canon," Mr. Sharpe comes to the conclusion that "it is difficult to resist the impression that Hosea was familiar with our Pentateuch and early history, or with the written documents from which our books were compiled." The admitted alternative is noteworthy; but can it be shown that he was familiar with *written* documents? In discussing the date of the prophecy Mr. Sharpe should at least have taken account of recent chronological researches, which render it extremely probable that Jeroboam II. may have lived till

¹ *Notes and Dissertations on the Prophecy of Hosea*. By John Sharpe, Rector of Elmley Lovett, late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co.; London: G. Bell & Sons, 1884.)

750 B.C., thus bringing the date of Hosea's activity much closer to the final downfall of Israel.

Two valuable additions have lately been made to *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*.¹ Of Professor Davidson's *Job* it is impossible to speak too warmly. The introduction and the notes are masterly. The reader feels at every step that he is being guided through the book by one who has pondered long and deeply over it, and whose ripe scholarship, profound insight, and sound judgment qualify him in an exceptional degree for expounding this most difficult book. Even where he does not find himself in complete agreement with his guide, he cannot fail to respect his opinions. Hebrew scholars will look anxiously for the larger commentary, in which it is to be hoped Professor Davidson will deal with the Hebrew text, and lay before them the researches upon which these results are based.

Dr. Cheyne's *Hosea* is also excellent. The introduction is brightly and vigorously written, the notes are clear and suggestive. The English student will find in it all the information he needs for the general study of the book: the scholar, too, may read it with interest and profit. It is hardly necessary to remark that Dr. Cheyne regards Hosea from a point of view very different from that of Mr. Sharpe. He is ready to abandon many traditional views about the Old Testament. He does not scruple to adopt conjectural emendations of the text somewhat freely. But such a book encourages the exercise of thought and discrimination on the part of the student; and books like this and Dr. Davidson's *Job* are bringing within the reach of the ordinary reader helps to the understanding of the Old Testament of a character and quality hitherto unknown.

The books which in date and character approximate most nearly to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, have for a long time been strangely neglected by readers of the Bible in this country. Mr. Churton's *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*²

¹ *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. General editor, J. J. S. Perowne, D.D., Dean of Peterborough. (1) *The Book of Job*, with Notes, Introduction, and Appendix, by the Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. (2) *Hosea*, with Notes and Introduction, by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D. (Cambridge: At the University Press; London: O. J. Clay & Son, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1884.)

² *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, being the additions to the Old Testament Canon which were included in the Ancient Greek and Latin Ver-

is to be welcomed as providing the English reader with useful helps to the study of the Apocrypha in a concise and convenient form. A general introduction gives an account of the meaning of the name, the controversies respecting the use of the Apocrypha, the value and principal features of the books contained in it. A special introduction prefixed to each book discusses its date and characteristics. The text of the Authorised Version is retained, but various readings of importance from the Versions and amended renderings are given in the margin, together with a good selection of references. There is a useful index of passages in the Canonical Scriptures quoted or paraphrased in the Apocrypha.

Mr. Henderson in his *Historical Geography of Palestine*¹ has not only done a good service to readers of the Bible by collecting together accounts of recent geographical discoveries which are only to be found in volumes and periodicals not easily accessible, but has produced an attractive and readable book. A complete topographical index makes the use of the book easy, and if the maps lose in picturesqueness by the absence of hill shading, they gain in clearness.

In *Egypt and Babylon*² Professor Rawlinson examines the notices of Babylon and Egypt in the different books of the Old Testament, and shows how they are illustrated and confirmed by what is known of the history and archæology of these countries from other sources. Additions are daily being made to our knowledge; and the results of the most recent researches—for example, the discovery of the site of Pithom at Tel-el-Maskouteh, by the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund—are duly noticed. The volume is valuable as concentrating the reader's attention on the amount of external evidence which exists for the general accuracy of the Old Testament, the full force of which is hardly perceived when the details are scattered up and down in the notes of a commentary. It is a pity that the book has no index. There should have been one of passages referred to, and one of subject-matters.

sions. By the Rev. W. R. Churton, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Canon of the Cathedral of St. Alban's, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop. (London: J. Whitaker, 1884.)

¹ *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students.* Palestine, with maps. By the Rev. A. Henderson, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1884.)

² *Egypt and Babylon, from Scripture and Profane Sources.* By the Rev. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury; Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.)

*Expository Sermons and Outlines on the Old Testament*¹ is a collection of sermons by well-known preachers of various denominations which have been "gathered from fugitive or unpublished sources." Noteworthy are a series of five on the Book of Job, by the Dean of Westminster; "Barak's Faith," by the Dean of Llandaff; "Ezekiel's Vision," by Canon Liddon. Such names as these, with those of Professor Davidson and Dr. Maclaren, will sufficiently indicate the value of the volume.

In English periodical literature there is comparatively little to note. Among the most important articles in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1884, are those by M. Clermont Ganneau, on "Genuine and False Inscriptions in Palestine" (January), "Syrian Archæology in 1883" (July), and "Antiquities of Palestine in London" (October); and the preliminary reports of Professor Hull (April) and Major Kitchener (October), on the expedition through Arabia Petræa, the Valley of the Arabah, and Western Palestine.

The Society of Biblical Archæology devotes its attention mainly to the language and antiquities of ancient Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt, irrespective of their direct bearing on the Old Testament. Dr. Sigmund Louis' paper on the "Poor Laws of the Ancient Hebrews" (*Transactions*, vol. viii. p. 30), M. le Page Renouf's on "The Egyptian origin of the word 'Cherub'" (*Proceedings*, p. 189), and Dr. Löwy's, on "Technological Terms in Ancient Semitic Culture and Folk-lore" (*id.* p. 138), may, however, be mentioned here.

In the *Journal of Philology*, No. 26, Professor Robertson Smith commences a learned investigation of "The Forms of Divination and Magic enumerated in Deut. xviii. 10, 11." He shows that "the *gōsēm* is primarily one who gives forth an oracle or decision of God by the sacred lot, or some analogous token," and collects a number of illustrations from Arabic and and Syriac writers.

Prof. Kuenen expounds his views on Ezekiel in the *Modern Review* for October, 1884. It is needless to say that he regards the book from the standpoint of the "higher criticism." It is not a record of prophecies really delivered at the dates given, but a carefully planned and studied literary whole, composed when the prophet had been twenty-five years in captivity, and thrown into

¹ *The Clerical Library.* Expository Sermons and Outlines on the Old Testament. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.)

the form of a record of his prophetic activity. Ezekiel was "the first designer and, so to speak, the father, of Judaism." The religion "which with the eye of faith he saw established in the future, is the religion of legalism." From the school of his disciples sprang Ezra, who succeeded in putting his ideas into practice.

The *British Quarterly Review* for January, 1885, contains an interesting article by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, on the Psalter, viewed in relation to modern modes of thought.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

University of Cambridge.

BREVIA.

A Modern Greek on the Revised Version of the New Testament.—Among the criticisms evoked by the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament, not the least instructive is that of Mr. A. G. Paspatis. This gentleman looks at the Version from the point of view of a Modern Greek. He has printed at Athens a lecture which he delivered on the subject to a select company of English ladies and gentlemen at Pera, and one or two specimens of his strictures may interest those who have not an opportunity of reading his pamphlet.

Many of his remarks have been anticipated, but his familiarity with the language and customs of Modern Greece confirms what has been already accepted. On the much discussed word in the Lord's Prayer, *ἐπιούσιον*, Mr. Paspatis says: "This word is in general use among the Greeks. Many poor people complain that they cannot gain their *ἐπιούσιον* bread. *Ἐπιούσιος* means whatever can sustain or maintain. . . . It has nothing to do with *daily*. The passage may be thus translated: 'Give us this day our bread to sustain us.'" In Matt. viii. 2, he would render *προσεκύνει* by "saluted" rather than by "worshipped," as it is the word commonly used by the Greeks of Roumelia and Asia Minor to express the greeting of friends. *πυρρός* in James ii. 2, he would deliver from "vile" ambiguity, by plainly translating it "dirty." In one or two instances the Revisers have had the ill luck to mar what they meant to mend; and of these instances one of the most

flagrant is their admission of "milk which is without guile" into their text at 1 Peter ii. 2. Why did they shrink from the obvious and surely intelligible "unadulterated milk"? "In the ordinary language of the Greeks," says Mr. Paspatis, "milk not adulterated with water or other ingredients is called γάλα ἄδολον." Another instance, though of small consequence, is the alteration of the A. V. in Mark xiv. 54, from "and warmed himself at the fire" to "and warming himself in the light of the fire." The word is φῶς, and might be supposed to have commended itself to Mark as suggestive of the dubious firelight in which the maid looked once and twice to make sure of Peter's features. But the Modern Greek use of the word φωρία for fire discountenances this idea and condemns the italics in the Revised Version. A man does not warm himself at light, though he may at a lighted fire; and perhaps this last might be the best rendering here. The ἄφες ἰδωμεν of Matt. xxvii. 49 Mr. Paspatis considers to be equivalent to the Modern Greek, ἄς ἰδωμεν, let us see, a remark in which he is anticipated not only by Professor Jebb (Appendix to Vincent and Dickson's *Handbook to Modern Greek*), but also by Mr. Carr in his *Matthew* (Cambridge Greek Testament), a volume that cannot be too highly commended for its sound and unpretentious scholarship and its abundance of useful and original observations. Some of Mr. Paspatis's suggestions will not find general acceptance. In Matt. xxv. 21 and 23, he proposes to substitute *feast* for *joy*, in the clause, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." For this, however, he has the authority of Coray. Those who recall Dean Stanley's note on 2 Cor. xi. 20, will be slow to believe with Mr. Paspatis, that εἰς πρόσωπον δέρει should be rendered, in the light of the modern προσωποδέρει, "if he upbraideth you to your face." In 2 Tim. ii. 15, instead of "handling aright the word of truth," Mr. Paspatis would read "preaching fearlessly the word of truth." This on the first blush has little plausibility, but not only has he Coray with him but certainly the modern usage seems strongly in favour of a rendering which also fits well in with what we know of Timothy's character. "You can hear the Greeks often say: 'I told him everything ὁρθὰ κοινά,' that is, clearly and fearlessly," or, as we might say, straight out.

MARCUS DODS.

Mark Rutherford. A little volume, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Dissenting Minister*, Edited by his friend Reuben Shapcott (Trübner), was published three years ago. While it failed of popular success, not a few readers perceived that it announced a new and great English writer. A sequel was half-promised, and has just appeared under the title of *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance*. Few will question that it more than redeems the promise of its predecessor—though we could have spared the appendix of "Notes on Job" for a few stanzas like those which opened the first volume—verses whose sad music has not ceased to haunt us. That the book will win a great popularity is not to be expected; nor do we say that it will take a permanent place in English literature. For this the experience described is perhaps too limited and individual. But that it will miss recognition—the most precious and cordial—it is hard to believe. The author must win the admiration of all worthy readers; some will be inclined to say that he is one of the very foremost living masters of the English tongue. In times when individuality of style grows more and more rare it is something to read a great book which no well known living author could have written. The swift inerrancy of the writer's style, the effortless mastery with which he summons words that truly speak his thought, the surprised enjoyment with which one constantly greets expressions which, however unexpected they may be, are seen at once to have found their right place—these are things which cannot escape those who are fit to judge. And there are some from whom the author will win not only admiration but love. We doubt if ever any one has so forcibly brought home certain familiar and yet unrealized aspects of life. After a brief experience as a Dissenting minister Mark Rutherford found his place amongst the mass of London toilers. The sense of the sombre existence given to him and them—more especially of the absolute insignificance of the individual, whose place can be in a moment supplied from the multitude of thronging claimants—the uses they make of the poor margins of their toilsome days, the tragedies which they often meet when at last they return home, their feeling towards God and man; in short, the life each lives as a soul—cannot be too earnestly pondered in a time when a shallow philanthropy seems to have no thought save for the mouth and the stomach. Not that there is any trace in all this of envy and bitterness. The author has a truly poetic

and tender sense of the encompassing darkness of all life. He "teaches without noise of words, without confusion of opinions, without the arrogance of honour, without the assault of argument." This is why we make no apology for introducing these volumes to the readers of the EXPOSITOR. He says much that it deeply concerns all teachers of religion to consider in these fateful days—not only of the eternal darkness and crime of the city, but of his escape through the door of love—love pure, imperious, awful—the love of wife and child leading up in the end to the love of God in Christ. The story reads in parts like a sermon on that sweet snatch in *Maud*, where the singer prays that "my sad life" may endure till love blesses it.

"Then let come what come may,
I shall have had my day."

Messages from God he found could not be read through the envelope which enclosed them—but read they were—and at last all morbidness vanished, and his life grew pure, calm, heroic. He is far from orthodox according to any accepted standard; and yet he grows in his appreciation of the truth which, as he would say, lies at the heart of all dogma: more, he recognises the inextinguishable life and conquering strength of Christian doctrine. We are mistaken, indeed, if men who are orthodox of the orthodox do not apply to him what he says of his wife. His way through the desert was not annihilated. The path remained stony and sore to the feet, but it was accompanied to the end by a sweet stream of strength and refreshing. *He drank of the same spiritual Rock that followed him, and that Rock was Christ.*

EDITOR.

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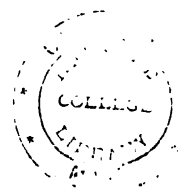
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Contents.

- 
- I.** "Natural Law in the Spiritual World":
A Defence. I.
- II.** The Father's Gifts through the Son.
(Colossians i. 12-14).
BY REV. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.
- III.** The Scenes of the Baptist's Work.
BY REV. PROFESSOR B. B. WARFIELD, D.D.
- IV.** The Struggle for Christian Liberty in Galatia.
BY REV. PROFESSOR GODET, D.D.
- V.** Exegetical Notes from Sermons.
BY REV. CANON T. S. EVANS, M.A.
- VI.** The Second Book of Moses.
BY REV. JOSEPH PARKER, D.D.
- VII.** Recent American Literature on the Old Testament.
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- VIII.** Brevia:—
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"NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

A DEFENCE.

FIRST PAPER.

WHAT is to be thought of a book which, in two years, reaches a circulation of thirty or forty thousand? Is this great and sudden popularity a sign of worth or of worthlessness? In a roomful of pessimists and optimists this question might prove a fine instrument for trying the spirits.

The pessimists would pronounce such a rapid success a sure proof that the book was bad and shallow. They would say that the best books have at first had few or no admirers, and the greatest authors achieved only posthumous renown. They would remark that an oak requires a hundred years to ripen, but "the quickest and completest of all vegetables is the cabbage." They would declaim about the many-headed vulgar, and scoff at the transient fancies of the crowd. They would paint you pictures of the young lady, whose ordinary mental diet is a novel from the circulating library, puzzling over the philosophy of the popular volume, and the shopkeeper adorning the margins of the most commonplace paragraphs with marks of admiration.

The optimists would laughingly retort that the writers of books, even among pessimists, wait as anxiously as their neighbours for the verdict of the multitude, and prize it as highly when it is in their favour. They would point out that some of the greatest books and authors have won their popularity instantaneously. If Milton's publisher only risked five pounds on *Paradise Lost*, *The Sorrows of*

Werther made Goethe the darling of the literary public at five-and-twenty, and he never afterwards lost this position. They would remark that the organs of publicity have now become so perfect, and the numbers of readers so multiplied, that a good book has a far better chance than in any former age of a speedy recognition. They would maintain that a writer on a serious theme who takes the public by storm must at least receive the praise of having discovered, and sympathized with, some deep need of the common mind.

The book named at the head of this article has given rise to many discussions of this kind. Its phenomenal success has compelled the organs of all shades of opinion to pass judgment upon it. In this case criticism has rather followed the general verdict than guided it. The public found out the book for itself by an instinct which it now and then reveals; and the critics, arriving late, have had to criticise their own constituents as well as the author.

On the whole they have confirmed the public verdict. They have unanimously praised the style of the book and the writer's aims and spirit. They have acknowledged the ingenuity of his reasoning and the originality of most of his views. And the majority of them have spoken with thankfulness of a writer who has succeeded in conveying so much wholesome truth into a multitude of minds with such telling effect. They have acknowledged that a new proof has been given of the keenness of the appetite for religious literature of a high order, and that religious teachers have received a lesson as to the anxiety which still exists in the public mind about the bearings of scientific discovery on religion.

But, whilst approving of the popular selection of this work as profitable reading, the critics have been by no means unanimous in approving of it as a contribution to human knowledge. They have found its positions novel

and perplexing, and some have come to the conclusion that, though it is valuable for its restatement of old truth in a setting of scientific illustrations, it has completely failed as a scientific or theological treatise. Its method of reasoning has been objected to, its central principle has been pronounced an illusion, and nearly every one of the applications of this principle has been denied by some critic or other.

Professor Drummond's pronounced Evangelicalism has of course exposed him at certain points to contradiction from the organs of the opposite schools of thought. It might perhaps have been expected that at least all Evangelicals would have recognised that a powerful blow had been struck on their side. On the contrary, however, one of the curiosities of the criticism of this book has been a small shower of pamphlets from certain earnest representatives of this school of thought, who wring their hands over the Professor as a misleader of the public all the more dangerous because of his general orthodoxy. The nature of these productions may be inferred from the circumstance, indicated on their coloured covers, that the authors of most of them have written other pamphlets on such subjects as "The Mystico-numerical System of the Hebrews," "The Millennium," "Daniel's Prophecies," and the Apocalypse.

Mr. Benjamin W. Newton, for instance, has written two hundred pages of remarks on Mr. Drummond. His pamphlet is garnished with quotations in French, German, Greek, and Hebrew, which would seem to be a guarantee of intelligence. But he blunders over the simplest statements of the book which he has undertaken to criticise. Mr. Drummond having, for instance, frequently to mention the fact that plants nourish themselves by the absorption of inorganic matter, describes this by saying that they stoop down to touch particles of the mineral kingdom which they elevate into the kingdom of life. But Mr.

Newton does not understand this simple fact, and calls it "an elevation which, if it ever had taken place, would have violated every law that has been stamped upon matter from the first moment of its existence." Having thus failed to understand one of the most elementary facts of natural science, he goes floundering on, page after page, dilating on it, and involving himself in deeper and deeper confusion. "It may be asked, if in order to effect the elevation of a mineral into a vegetable, there must be evolution from the mineral to produce the higher, but as yet non-existent, vegetable; and if it be also necessary that a power should come down from the non-existent vegetable to assist or stimulate the evolution from the mineral, how could the vegetable, which has no existence until the evolution from the mineral has taken place, supply, whilst non-existent, the stimulating or attracting power needed?" and so on. At the close of this extraordinary passage he has the grace to say, "I hope I have not misrepresented anything." But in this, and in twenty other places, he has utterly misunderstood and misrepresented the author. In this way he fancies he discovers errors in every page, and in general regards "such doctrine, however modified, as deadly and soul-destroying heresy, whose birthplace is the pit."

Why should such persons read apologetic literature? They can have no need of it to strengthen their own faith. One of them declares: "Acknowledging the Bible as a Divine gift, we have received it with reverence, and submitted without denial or doubt to its teaching. It has never occurred to us to seek proof elsewhere, either to establish or confirm any truth which comes to us from Heaven. With such an origin, unreadiness to accept it, or any suspicion as to its value, so far from being praiseworthy, is positively sinful." It need not be said that persons occupying such a position can be of no service to those whose faith has been shaken; for the first qualification

of the apologete is sympathy. Why then should they read that which can only excite and enrage them ?

At the opposite extreme from these worthy souls, who dread the Professor as a monster of heresy disguised in a garment of light, stands a writer who in *The Cambridge Review* pronounces " Mr. Drummond's method of argument from first to last to be unsound," and has to find an excuse for criticising the book at all " in the large number of persons who have purchased and presumably read the work." The weight of this juvenile judgment may be inferred from a flight like the following: " A whole treatise on the reconciliation of science and religion, twenty thousand copies sold, and nothing further to show for it than an overstrained parable about a hermit crab ! ' Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus—pagurus.' " Mr. Drummond has, indeed, escaped no single species of criticism, not even the lowest—that of the theological clown, jeering at his success and holding his sides with the merriment of the circus.

I. Strong exception has been taken to what may be called the Apologetic Method of Mr. Drummond. " The old ground of faith, Authority," he has said in his Preface, " is given up ; the new, Science, has not yet taken its place. Men did not require to *see* truth before ; they only needed to believe it. Truth, therefore, had not been put by theology in a seeing form. But now they ask to see it." And he proposes to comply with this demand.

This is a complete change in the method of meeting theological inquiry. The old method was to conduct the inquirer to the Bible, which was held to be the only abode of knowledge on religious subjects, and convince him that it was a Divine book ; and, when this was accomplished, of course logic compelled him to accept all the doctrines which could be proved to be taught in the Bible. This method is stated with admirable clearness by a critic already

referred to. "Knowledge of spiritual truth can only be gained by a diligent and devout study of the Scriptures. In the Bible God has given us a full and faithful record of His will. . . . By all means examine and re-examine the statements made in the inspired Word, to avoid either misunderstanding or misrepresentation; but when we have ascertained the precise meaning of the language, we have reached final truth." This was long the only method of Apologetics: the natural is experienced, it was said, the spiritual is revealed; the facts of science lie beneath the eye of observation, but the facts of religion are mysteries inaccessible to human observation.

Mr. Drummond holds, on the contrary, that the spiritual is experienced no less than the natural, and many facts of religion are as accessible to human observation as the facts of science. If the inquirer be a religious man, he can see them in his own soul; and if not, he can see them in the souls and lives of his religious neighbours. Conversion and holiness, and many other religious phenomena, are as hard facts as the earth's crust or the procession of the seasons or the growth of plants, and they are as deserving of scientific explanation. Their explanation is theology: it is impossible to explain how a religious man has come to be what he is without postulating the greatest truths of religion.

It will be observed that this is an additional method of dealing with religious inquiry. It leaves the old method unimpugned, to be practised by those who think they can use it. But the truth is, this new method has long been used practically, whether theology has acknowledged it or not. Suppose a religious inquirer is asking the most vital of all religious questions, What must I do to be saved? He may be directed to the Bible, and go to it trustfully, either having convinced himself that it is a Divine book or taking this on trust without investigation. There he will

be told that Christ is the Saviour, and instructed how to come to Him. Suppose he comes and trusts in Christ and is saved, and the work of salvation pursues in his soul its normal course, till it transforms his being and life with its Divine influence. Has he not now in this influence and its results a set of facts lying under his own most immediate observation as pregnant with the truths of religion as the side of a mountain is with the doctrines of geology? He believes there is such a thing as salvation, not merely because the Bible has said so, but because he is a saved man; he believes Christ is a Divine Saviour, not only because this is stated in Scripture, but because Christ has saved himself. Certainly he will be in no mood to think little of the Bible; and yet he might turn round to it and address it in words of friendly pleasantry like those addressed to the woman of Samaria by her fellow-townsmen, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying; but we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

It is, indeed, questionable whether many Christians have either arrived at certainty about religious truth by the old apologetic method or revert to this method when their faith is shaken. Is not the normal history of religious conviction rather somewhat as follows? The child learns the truths of religion from his parents and teachers, and believes them simply on their testimony, and not because he has satisfied himself by argument of the divinity of the Bible, and found the articles of belief recorded there. Knowing with the head in this way his own need of salvation and the means of salvation to be found in Christ, the boy or young man is led through grace to believe these things with the heart, and his religious experience begins and goes on playing a larger and larger part in his life. He now seeks his friends among the religious and their life lies open to his observation. Later on doubts perhaps arise, and his beliefs are

shaken to their foundations. When these storms are past, and he feels round to see if there is anything still holding him to the Christian system, what is it generally that he finds? Not, we venture to say, the belief still unshaken that the Bible is an infallible book; but his own religious experience still remains an indubitable fact in his memory, or perhaps it is even more unquestionable to him that one or two fine Christian characters he has known must have been of Divine workmanship, and not mere products of nature. This is the rope by which he is saved and pulls himself gradually back to the *terra firma* of faith.

Although, therefore, the Bible is the principal abode of religious truth, it is not the only one to which the religious inquirer may be guided. Many religious facts are accessible to inspection in Christian experience; and it may be best to take the inquirer there first. If he be a student of science, this will probably be the case; for it is only a step from the fields which he has been investigating to this new field. He may have been studying plants and animals—the phases of their life, the incidents of their history, the inferences which these compel him to draw. It is but a step to man—the phases of his experience, the forces which have formed him; and if the subject of investigation is a religious character, he cannot be explained without the recognition of the forces of salvation which have made him what he is. This is what Mr. Drummond means by making the inquirer *see* the truth.

It is possible that this may yet become the universally recognised method of apologetics. The old method was an extremely circuitous and cumbrous one. You had to prove that there is a God first; then that He so inspired the writers of Scripture as to give all their statements infallible authority; then that your interpretation of the statements of Scripture was correct, before you could ask the inquirer to believe any doctrine of religion. It is a much more short

and easy method to call upon the inquirer to account for what lies immediately before his eyes. The converted man, the life of the saint, may yet become the apologete's field of demonstration. Someone once threw out the taunt that, during the great apologetic epoch in the last century, the dissenting churches produced none of the great apologetic works, which were all the lucubrations of churchmen. "It is true," a wise man replied; "but Methodism was at that very time furnishing England with a far more convincing proof of Christianity in the myriads of men and women whom it was converting."

Of course though the apologete begins, he ought not to end, here. From the saved individual he will work his way back to the facts of redemption; and from these he will pass to the record of redemption in the Scriptures, thus leading the inquirer step by step to the most elevated position occupied by the old apologetic. Mr. Drummond has emphasized the evidence for Christianity supplied in the experience of the individual; he has said little or nothing of the ample evidence to be found in the experience of the body of believers—the Church. Roman Catholic theology finds here its principal field for religious demonstration. Mr. Drummond seeks truth in the experience of the Christian individual; Romanists seek it in the Christian Church; the old apologetic sought it in the Bible. Perhaps there may arise in the future an apologetic which will seek it in all three: beginning with the experience of the individual Christian, and there finding something; passing on to the collective experience of the whole Church and of the Christian generations, and there finding more; and finally finding in the Bible both a test for the conclusions formed at these preceding stages and the bountiful source of all else that may be needed to complete the rounded whole of Divine truth.

II. The guiding principle of the whole book is expressed in these words of the Introduction: "The position we have been led to take up is not that the Spiritual Laws are analogous to the Natural Laws, but that *they are the same laws*. It is not a question of analogy but of *Identity*."

This position has been almost unanimously rejected by even the most appreciative of Mr. Drummond's critics. Many of them have omitted, however, to mention the reserve with which the author has stated it. Thus Mr. J. J. Murphy, in an able article in *The British Quarterly Review*, begins with saying: "Professor Drummond's claim is that he has set forth a system of religious philosophy;" and then proceeds: "We maintain that, although there is much religious philosophy, and true religious philosophy, in his book, there is not a system at all, but only a number of detached suggestions somewhat elaborately wrought out." But Mr. Drummond has advanced no such claim. On the contrary he has, in the Preface, described what he has attempted in almost the very words in which Mr. Murphy describes what he has performed.

"When this," he says [*i.e.* the principle of the identity of the laws in the two spheres], "presented itself to me as a method, I felt it to be due to it to begin again at the beginning, and reconstruct my spiritual world step by step. The result of that inquiry, so far as its expression in systematic form is concerned, I have not given in this book. To reconstruct a Spiritual Religion, or a department of Spiritual Religion—for this is all the method can pretend to—on the lines of Nature, would be an attempt from which one better equipped in both directions might well be pardoned if he shrank. My object at present is the humbler one of venturing a simple contribution to practical Religion along the lines indicated."

From the frank and intensely interesting account of the genesis of his book given in the Preface, it is evident that, during his investigations on the boundaries between Religion and Science, the author was struck with the identity of a few of the laws governing both regions. This became a clue to him, and he leapt to the vast generalisation that

the laws of both worlds might be identical. This dazzling anticipation served as an attraction to draw him on. But he does not pretend to have proved it; as yet it is merely a hypothesis awaiting proof. His own faith in it is strengthened by its agreement with the general scientific Law of Continuity and by such extensions of Natural Law into apparently alien domains as Mr. Bagehot has made in politics, and Mr. Herbert Spencer in sociology; but he does not yet ask public assent to it except to the extent of the few illustrations of it which he has produced. He already sees himself that his generalisation, however far it may be carried, cannot be established in its completeness, and frankly acknowledges it: "So general has been the survey, that I have not even paused to define specifically to what departments of the Spiritual World exclusively the principle is to be applied. One thing is certain, and I state it positively, the application of Natural Law to the Spiritual World has decided and necessary limits." The portions of the Spiritual World to which he here allows his principle will not apply, are doubtless those provinces of it most remote from human experience. But at the other end also he will have to allow that there are laws of matter which do not run up into the spiritual world; for his attempt to show that gravitation, for instance, may apply to spirit cannot be called a success.

Some of his critics have maintained the impossibility *a priori* of any identity. They hold that the objects of the two regions are so diverse in their nature that they cannot be regulated by the same laws. But can any diversity in the nature of two different sets of objects render it certain, before observation, that the law of their existence, in the sense of "an ascertained or working order among phenomena," which is all that Mr. Drummond means by the term, cannot be identical? The primary laws of logic are well-known instances of laws which apply equally to

objects the most diverse in the world of matter and the world of mind. But it is with laws of life Mr. Drummond is dealing; and it is said that life in the natural world and life in the spiritual world, though they chance to have the same name, are essentially such distinct things as to make any identity among the laws which regulate them impossible. This is a somewhat hazardous statement, since in either case life is so difficult to define. But even if the two kinds of life be utterly diverse in their nature, it still does not necessarily follow that the behaviour of the objects in which they inhere may not proceed according to the same "working sequence or constant order." It is not a question for a *a priori* speculation, which cannot settle it, but for patient observation.

Mr. Drummond has patiently observed, and in his eleven chapters has indicated, a number of laws which rule in both spheres. In the majority of instances the correctness of his observations has not been seriously assailed. It seems to us there can be no doubt that in many cases the laws of natural life and spiritual life may be stated with scientific exactness in identical terms. Here is an instance from Mr. Drummond: *Any principle which secures the safety of the individual without personal effort or the vital exercise of faculty is disastrous to character.* He has shown that this is an important law of science, guiding the student into wide fields of inquiry and bringing them under his intelligent survey. Is it not also a law of the moral and spiritual world, which brings a hundred experiences into view and shows their significance and the connexion between them? But these are the very uses of the discovery of laws. The truth is, Mr. Drummond is less original in this matter than has been supposed. Already in Scripture there may be found laws enunciated of wide sweep which are identical in both spheres; as, for example, the favourite saying of our Lord, "*To him that hath shall more be given,*"

and he shall have abundance; but from him who hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Mr. Drummond's merit is that he has taken the laws whose discovery is the principal boast of the modern scientific school, and which are familiar in their mouths as household words, and shown that they are to be found regulating a still higher order of phenomena in a sphere which to some men of science appears to be a chaos or a world in the air.

It would be a far greater service, however, to the cause of truth if he would pursue the generalisation which has been his guiding clue to its utmost limits, and let the world know how far the theological territory is capable of being reorganized by his principle. No wonder it drew him on and imparted to his thinking the glow of enthusiasm which all readers have recognised in his book. It is the same dream of unity in the works of God which, in one form or another, has been the inspiration of all the profoundest thinking. In every mind there is a latent faith that this dream will some day be found to be a reality, when all things in the universe will be seen to form "one vast circle, in which a few well-known laws shall form the radii." No one has before brought home so fully to the common mind that the facts of religion must also form a part of this gigantic circle. While absolutely loyal to the distinction in theology between nature and grace, Mr. Drummond has taught his generation to think of the experiences of grace also, from the point of view of biology, as forming part of that Divine whole of nature which is an emanation from the recesses of the Divine wisdom, power, and love.

In next Number the objections will be met which have been made to (3) Mr. Drummond's Law of Biogenesis; and a reply will be given to the charges brought against him of (4) ignoring the Doctrine of the Atonement, and (5) teaching several heresies.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

IV.

THE FATHER'S GIFTS THROUGH THE SON.

"The Father, who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light; who delivered us out of the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love; in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins."—Col. i. 12-14 (Rev. Ver.).

WE have advanced thus far in this Epistle without having reached its main subject. We now, however, are on its verge. The next verses to those now to be considered lead us into the very heart of Paul's teaching, by which he would oppose the errors rife in the Colossian Church. The great passages describing the person and work of Jesus Christ are at hand, and here we have the immediate transition to them.

The skill with which the transition is made is remarkable. How gradually and surely the sentences, like some hovering winged things, circle more and more closely round the central light, till, in the last words they touch it, ". . . the Son of His love!" It is like some long procession heralding a king. They that go before, cry Hosanna, and point to him who comes last and chief. The affectionate greetings which begin the letter, pass into prayer; the prayer into thanksgiving. The thanksgiving, as in these words, lingers over and recounts our blessings, as a rich man counts his treasures, or a lover dwells on his joys. The enumeration of the blessings leads, as by a golden thread, to the thought and name of Christ, the fountain of them all, and then, with a burst and a rush, the flood of the truths he had to give them about Christ sweeps through Paul's mind and heart, carrying everything before it. The name of Christ always opens the floodgates in Paul's heart.

We have here then the deepest grounds for Christian thanksgiving, which are likewise the preparations for a true estimate of who the Christ who gives them, is. These grounds of thanksgiving are but various aspects of the one great blessing of "Salvation." The diamond flashes greens and purples, and yellows and reds, according to the angle at which its facets catch the eye.

It is also to be observed, that all these blessings are the present possession of Christians. The language of the first three clauses in the verses before us points distinctly to a definite past act by which the Father, at some definite point of time, made us meet, delivered and translated us, while the present tense in the last clause shows that "our redemption" is not only begun by some definite act in the past, but is continuously and progressively possessed in the present.

We notice, too, the remarkable correspondence of language with that which Paul heard when he lay prone on the ground, blinded by the flashing light, and amazed by the pleading remonstrance from heaven which rung in his ears. "I send thee to the Gentiles . . . that they may turn from *darkness* to *light*, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive *remission of sins*, and an *inheritance* among them which are sanctified." All the principal phrases are there, and are freely recombined by Paul, as if unconsciously his memory was haunted still by the sound of the transforming words heard so long ago.

I. The first ground of thankfulness which all Christians have is, *that they are fit for the Inheritance*. Of course the metaphor here is drawn from the "inheritance" given to the people of Israel, namely, the land of Canaan. Unfortunately our use of "heir" and "inheritance" confines the idea to possession by succession on death, and hence some perplexity is popularly experienced as to the force of the word in Scripture. There, it implies possession by lot,

if anything more than the simple notion of possession; and points to the fact that the people did not win their land by their own swords, but because "God had a favour unto them." So the Christian inheritance is not won by our own merit, but given by God's goodness. The words may be literally rendered, "fitted us for the portion of the lot," and taken to mean the share or portion which consists in the lot; but perhaps it is clearer, and more accordant with the analogy of the division of the land among the tribes, to take them as meaning "for our (individual) share in the broad land which, as a whole, is the allotted possession of the saints." This possession belongs to them, and is situated in the world of "light." Such is the general outline of the thoughts here. The first question that arises is, whether this inheritance is present or future. The best answer is that it is both; because, whatever additions of power and splendour as yet unspeakable may wait for the future to be revealed, the essence of all that heaven can bring is ours to-day, if we live in the faith and love of Christ. The difference between a life of communion with God here and yonder is one of degree and not of kind. True, there are differences of which we cannot speak, in enlarged capacities, and a "spiritual body," and sins cast out, and nearer approach to "the fountain itself of heavenly radiance;" but he who can say, while he walks amongst the shadows of earth, "The Lord is the portion of my inheritance," will neither leave his treasures behind him when he dies, nor enter on the possession of a wholly new inheritance, when he passes into the heavens. But while this is true, it is also true that that future possession of God will be so deepened and enlarged that its beginnings here are but the "earnest," of the same nature indeed as the inheritance, but limited in comparison as the tuft of grass which used to be given to a new possessor, is, when set against the broad lands from which it was plucked. Here certainly

the predominant idea is that of a present fitness for a mainly future possession.

We notice again—where the inheritance is situated—“in the light.” There are several possible ways of connecting that clause with the preceding. But without discussing these, it may be enough to point out that the most satisfactory seems to be to regard it as specifying the region in which the inheritance lies. It lies in a realm where purity and knowledge and gladness dwell undimmed and unbounded by an envious ring of darkness. For these three are the triple rays into which, according to the Biblical use of the figure, that white beam may be resolved.

From this there follows that it is capable of being possessed only by *saints*. There is no merit or desert which makes men worthy of the inheritance, but there is a congruity, or correspondence between character and the inheritance. If we rightly understand what the essential elements of “heaven” are, we shall have no difficulty in seeing that the possession of it is utterly incompatible with anything but holiness. The vulgar ideas of what heaven is, hinder people from seeing how to get there. They dwell upon the mere outside of the thing, they take symbols for realities and accidents for essentials, and so it appears to them an arbitrary arrangement that a man must have faith in Christ to enter heaven. If it be a kingdom of light, then only souls that love the light can go thither, and until owls and bats rejoice in the sunshine, there will be no way of being fit for the inheritance which is light, but by ourselves being “light in the Lord.” Light itself is a torture to diseased eyes. Turn up any stone by the roadside and we see how unwelcome light is to crawling creatures that have lived in the darkness till they have come to love it.

Heaven is God and God is heaven. How can a soul possess God, and find its heaven in possessing Him? Certainly only by likeness to Him, and loving Him. The

old question, "Who shall stand in the Holy Place?" has no answer in the Gospel, which reduces the conditions, or negatives the old reply. The common sense of every conscience answers, and Christianity answers, as the Psalmist does, "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart."

One more step has to be taken to reach the full meaning of these words, namely, the assertion that men who are not yet perfectly pure are already fit to be partakers of the inheritance. The tense of the verb in the original points back to a definite act by which the Colossians were made meet, namely, their conversion, and the plain emphatic teaching of the New Testament is that incipient and feeble faith in Christ works a change so great, that through it we are fitted for the inheritance by the impartation of a new nature, which, though it be but as a grain of mustard seed, shapes from henceforth the very inmost centre of our personal being, and in due time will convert into its own fiery brightness the whole mass, however green and smokily it begins to burn. Not absence of sin, but presence of faith working by love and longing for the light, makes fitness. No doubt flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, and we must put off the vesture of the body which has wrapped us during the wild weather here, before we can be fully fit to enter the banqueting hall; nor do we know how much evil which has not its seat in the soul may drop away therewith—but the spirit is fit for heaven as soon as a man turns to God in Christ. Suppose a company of rebels, and one of them, melted by some reason or other, is brought back to loyalty. He is fit by that inward change, although he has not done a single act of loyalty, for the society of loyal subjects, and unfit for that of traitors. Suppose a prodigal son away in the far off land. Some remembrance comes over him of what home used to be like, and of the bountiful house-keeping that is still there; and though it may begin with nothing more exalted than an empty

stomach, if it ends in "I will arise and go to my Father," at that instant a gulf opens between him and the riotous living of "the citizens of that country," and he is no longer fitted for their company. He is meet for the fellowship of his father's house, though he has a weary journey before he gets there, and needs to have his rags changed, and his filth washed off him, ere he can sit down at the feast.

So whoever turns to the love of God in Christ, and yields in the inmost part of his being to the power of His grace, is already "light in the Lord." The true home and affinities of his true self are in the kingdom of the light, and he is ready for his part in the inheritance, either here or yonder. There is no breach of the great law, that character makes fitness for heaven—might we not say that character makes heaven?—for the very roots of character lie in disposition and desire, rather than in action. Nor is there in this principle anything inconsistent with the need for continual growth in congruity of nature with that land of light. The light within, if it be truly there, will, however slowly, spread, as surely as the grey of twilight brightens to the blaze of noonday. The heart will be more and more filled with it, and the darkness driven back more and more to gloom in remote corners, and at last will vanish utterly. True fitness will become more and more fit. We shall grow more and more capable of God. The measure of our capacity is the measure of our possession, and the measure in which we have become light, is the measure of our capacity for the light. The land was parted among the tribes of Israel according to their strength; some had a wider, some a narrower strip of territory. So, as there are differences in Christian character here, there will be differences in Christian participation in the inheritance hereafter. "Star differeth from star." Some will blaze in brighter radiance and glow with more fervent heat because they move in orbits closer to the sun.

But, thank God, we are "fit for the inheritance," if we have ever so humbly and poorly trusted ourselves to Jesus Christ and received His renewing life into our spirits. Character alone fits for heaven. But character may be in germ or in fruit. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature." Do we trust ourselves to Him? Are we trying, with His help, to live as children of the light? Then we need not droop or despair by reason of evil that may still haunt our lives. Let us give it no quarter, for it diminishes our fitness for the full possession of God; but let it not cause our tongue to falter in "giving thanks to the Father who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light."

II. The second ground of thankfulness is, *the change of king and country*. God "delivered us out of the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love." These two clauses embrace the negative and positive sides of the same act which is referred to in the former ground of thankfulness, only stated now in reference to our allegiance and citizenship in the present rather than the future. In the "deliverance" there may be a reference to God's bringing Israel out of Egypt, suggested by the previous mention of the inheritance, while the translation into the other kingdom may be an illustration drawn from the well known practice of ancient warfare, the deportation of large bodies of natives from the conquered kingdom to some other part of the conqueror's realm.

We notice then the two kingdoms and their kings. "The power of darkness," is an expression found in Luke's Gospel (xxii. 18), and it may be used here as a reminiscence of our Lord's solemn words. "Power" here seems to imply the conception of harsh, arbitrary dominion, in contrast with the gracious rule of the other kingdom. It is a realm of cruel and grinding sway. Its prince is personified in an image that Æschylus or Dante might have spoken. Darkness sits

sovereign there, a vast and gloomy form on an ebon throne, wielding a heavy sceptre over wide regions wrapped in night. The plain meaning of that tremendous metaphor is just this—that the men who are not Christians live in a state of subjection to darkness of ignorance, darkness of misery, darkness of sin. If I am not a Christian man, that black three-headed hound of hell sits baying on my doorstep.

What a wonderful contrast the other kingdom and its King present! “The kingdom of”—not “the light,” as we are prepared to hear, in order to complete the antithesis—“the Son of His love,” who is the light. The Son who is the object of His love, on whom it all and ever rests, as on none besides. He has a kingdom in existence now, and not merely hoped for, and to be set up at some future time. Wherever men lovingly obey Christ, there is His kingdom. The subjects make the kingdom, and we may to-day belong to it, and be free from all other dominion because we bow to His. There then sit the two kings, like the two in the old story, “either of them on his throne, clothed in his robes, at the entering in of the gate of the city” Darkness and Light, the ebon throne and the white throne, surrounded each by their ministers; there Sorrow and Gloom, here Gladness and Hope; there Ignorance with blind eyes and idle aimless hands, here Knowledge with the sunlight on her face, and Diligence for her handmaid; here Sin, the pillar of the gloomy realm, there Righteousness, in robes so as no fuller on earth could white them. *Under which king, my brother?*

We notice the transference of subjects. The sculptures on Assyrian monuments explain this metaphor for us. A great conqueror has come, and speaks to us as Sennacherib did to the Jews (2 Kings xviii. 31, 32), “Come out to me . . . and I will take you away to a land of corn and wine, that ye may live and not die.”

If we listen to His voice, He will lead away a long string

of willing captives and plant them, not as pining exiles, but as happy naturalized citizens, in the kingdom which the Father has appointed for "the Son of His love."

That transference is effected on the instant of our recognising the love of God in Jesus Christ, and yielding up the heart to Him. We too often speak as if the "entrance ministered at last to" a believing soul "into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour," were our first entrance therein, and forget that we enter it as soon as we yield to the drawings of Christ's love and take service under the king. The change then is greater than at death. When we die, we shall change provinces, and go from an outlying colony to the mother city and seat of empire, but we shall not change kingdoms. We shall be under the same government, only then we shall be nearer the King and more loyal to Him. That change of King is the real fitness for heaven. We know little of what profound changes death may make, but clearly a physical change cannot effect a spiritual revolution. They who are not Christ's subjects will not become so by dying. If here we are trying to serve a King who has delivered us from the tyranny of darkness, we may be very sure that He will not lose His subjects in the darkness of the grave. Let us choose our king. If we take Christ for our heart's Lord, every thought of Him here, every piece of partial obedience and stained service, as well as every sorrow and every joy, our fading possessions and our undying treasures, the feeble new life that wars against our sins, and even the very sins themselves as contradictory of our deepest self, unite to seal to us the assurance, "Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty. They shall behold the land that is very far off."

III. The heart and centre of all occasions for thankfulness is *the Redemption which we receive in Christ*.

"In whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins." The Authorized Version reads "redemption

through His blood," but these words are not found in the best manuscripts, and are regarded by the principal modern editors as having been inserted from the parallel place in Ephesians (i. 7), where they are genuine. The very heart then of the blessings which God has bestowed, is "redemption," which consists primarily, though not wholly, in "forgiveness of sins," and is received by us in "the Son of His love."

"Redemption," in its simplest meaning, is the act of delivering a slave from captivity by the payment of ransom. So that it contains in its application to the effect of Christ's death, substantially the same figure as in the previous clause which spoke of a deliverance from a tyrant, only that what was there represented as an act of Power is here set forth as the act of self-sacrificing Love which purchases our freedom at a heavy cost. That ransom price is said by Christ Himself to be "His life," and His incarnation to have the paying of that price as one of its two chief objects. So the words added here by quotation from the companion Epistle are in full accordance with New Testament teaching; but even omitting them, the meaning of the clause is unmistakable. Christ's death breaks the chains which bind us, and sets us free. By it He acquires us for Himself. That transcendent act of sacrifice has such a relation to the Divine government on the one hand, and to the "sin of the world," as a whole, on the other, that by it all who trust in Him are delivered from the most real penal consequences of sin and from the dominion of its darkness over their natures. We freely admit that we cannot penetrate to the understanding of *how* Christ's death thus avails. But just because the *rationale* of the doctrine is avowedly beyond our limits, we are barred from asserting that it is incompatible with God's character, or with common justice, or that it is immoral, and the like. When we know God through and through, to all the depths and

heights and lengths and breadths of His nature, and when we know man in like manner, and when, consequently, we know the relation between God and man as perfectly, and not till then, we shall have a right to reject the teaching of Scripture on this matter, on such grounds. Till then, let our faith lay hold on the fact, though we do not understand the "how" of the fact, and cling to that cross which is the great power of God unto salvation, and the heart-changing exponent of the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.

The essential and first element in this redemption is "the forgiveness of sins." Possibly some misconception of the nature of redemption may have been associated with the other errors which threatened the Colossian Church, and thus Paul may have been led to this emphatic declaration of its contents. Forgiveness, and not some mystic deliverance by initiation or otherwise from the captivity of flesh and matter, is redemption. There is more than forgiveness in it, but forgiveness lies on the threshold; not only the removal of legal penalties inflicted by a specific act, but the forgiveness of a father. A judge pardons when he remits the sentence which he has pronounced, and which is inflicted only by reason of his will. A father forgives when the free flow of his love is unhindered by his child's fault, and he may forgive and punish at the same moment. The truest "penalty" of sin is that death which consists in separation from God; and the conceptions of judicial pardon and fatherly forgiveness unite when we think of the "remission of sins" as being the removal of that separation, and the deliverance of heart and conscience from the burden of guilt and of a father's wrath.

Such forgiveness leads to the full deliverance from the power of darkness, which is the completion of redemption. There is deep meaning in the fact that the word for "forgiveness," means literally, "sending away." Pardon has a mighty power to banish sin, not only as guilt, but as habit.

The waters of the gulf stream bear the warmth of the tropics to the icy north, and lave the foot of the glaciers on its coast till they melt and mingle with the liberating waves. So the flow of the forgiving love of God thaws the hearts frozen in the obstinacy of sin, and blends our wills with itself in glad submission and grateful service.

But we must not overlook the significant words in which the condition of possessing this redemption is stated: "in whom." There must be a real living union with Christ, by which we are truly "in Him" in order to our possession of redemption. "Redemption through His blood" is not the whole message of the Gospel; it has to be completed by "*In whom* we have redemption through His blood." That real living union is effected by our faith, and when we are thus "in Him," our wills, hearts, spirits joined to Him, then, and only then are we borne away from the kingdom of the darkness and partake of redemption. We cannot get His gifts without Himself.

We observe, in conclusion, how redemption here appears as a present and growing possession. There is emphasis on "*we have*." The Colossian Christians had by one definite act in the past been fitted for a share of the inheritance, and by the same act been transferred to the kingdom of Christ. Already they possess the inheritance, and are in the kingdom, although both are to be more gloriously manifested in the future. Here, however, Paul contemplates rather the reception, moment by moment, of redemption. We might almost read "*we are having*," for the present tense seems used on purpose to convey the idea of a continual communication from Him to whom we are to be united by faith. Daily we may draw what we daily need—daily forgiveness for daily sins, the washing of the feet which even he who has been bathed requires after each day's march through muddy roads, daily bread for daily hunger, and daily strength for daily effort. So day

unto day may, in our narrow lives, as in the wide heavens with all their stars, utter speech, and night unto night show knowledge of the redeeming love of our Father. Like the rock that followed the Israelites in the wilderness, according to Jewish legend, and poured out water for their thirst, His grace flows ever by our sides and from its bright waters we may daily draw with joy.

And so let us lay to heart humbly these two lessons, that all our Christianity must begin with forgiveness, and that, however far advanced we may be in the Divine life, we never get beyond the need for a continual bestowal upon us of God's pardoning mercy.

Many of us, like some of these Colossians, are ready to call ourselves in some sense followers of Christ. The speculative side of Christian truth may have attractions for some of us, its lofty morality for others. Some of us may be mainly drawn to it by its comforts for the weary; some may be looking to it chiefly in hope of a future heaven. But whatever we are, and however we may be disposed to Christ and His Gospel, here is a plain message for us; we must begin by going to Him for pardon. It is not enough for any of us to find in Him "wisdom," or even "righteousness," for we need "redemption" which is "forgiveness," and unless He is to us forgiveness, He will not be either righteousness or wisdom.

We can climb a ladder that reaches to heaven, but its foot must be in "the horrible pit and miry clay" of our sins. Little as we like to hear it, the first need for us all is forgiveness. Everything begins with that. "The inheritance of the saints," with all its wealth of glory, its immortal life and unfading joys, its changeless security, and its unending progress deeper and deeper into the light and likeness of God, is the goal, but the *only* entrance is through the strait gate of penitence. Christ will forgive on our cry for pardon, and that is the first link of a golden chain un-

winding from His hand by which we may ascend to the perfect possession of our inheritance in God. "Whom He justified, them," and them only, He will glorify.

A. MACLAREN.

THE SCENES OF THE BAPTIST'S WORK.

It is somewhat remarkable how dense an obscurity still broods over the geography of John the Baptist's life. Every place connected with his name in the New Testament narrative—from the mysterious πόλις 'Ιούδα where he was born, to the undiscoverable Ænon where he last appears in public—is the subject of more or less controversy. Fortunately, the work which he came to do—the whole essence of which is embalmed in his pregnant title of "Forerunner"—was directed so entirely to the hearts and consciences of men as men, that an adequate appreciation of it is comparatively independent of local colouring. A competently exact conception of it may even co-exist with an indifference to such details, which gladly leaves them to be supplied in those faintly imaginative traits which every one who vividly realizes John's work will inevitably throw around it. This very circumstance, however, advises us that something is lost by an attitude of indifference. If we desire to reproduce vividly in our minds the work which John did, and to feel it as a thing that really happened, we cannot dispense with these details, and must either give them to the mind or suffer an outraged imaging faculty to substitute others for them. The actual and true geography of John's life, thus, is of the same kind of importance to a complete understanding of his work, as any other subject usually classed under the department of study which the Germans, with a conciseness which is at once the admiration and despair of Englishmen, call *Zeitgeschichte*.

The difficulty of the subject resides wholly in the insufficiency of our knowledge of the geography of the region in which John's life was passed and his work done. It is true that we have absolutely no information about his movements beyond what the New Testament supplies. Josephus tells us only that John was imprisoned at Machærus, in terms that apparently imply that he had preached in the near vicinity of Herod Antipas' residence¹ (which was probably at Tiberias²), and just before his imprisonment may have been at work on the Perean bank of Lower Jordan, from which Machærus was easily accessible. But the descriptions of the New Testament are explicit enough to identify the places accurately—if only we knew anything about the places to be identified. As it is, we are somewhat in the condition of one who for the first time comes upon a letter from a missionary in Madagascar to a familiar friend; our difficulty is not in the sharp and evidently accurate allusions of the narrative, but in lack of previous information about the places alluded to.

A very striking illustration of this is furnished by St. Luke's reference to John's birth-place (i. 39, 65). The description is full enough; it bears marks of being even carefully precise: but in the present state of our knowledge, the exact identification of the place that is intended is almost hopeless. We are first told that it was ἐν τῇ ὄρεινῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας—"the hill country of Judea"—a term which according to the Old Testament³ described the whole upland region as distinguished from the Philistine

¹ Hoekstra (*Theolog. Tijdschrift*, 1884, p. 341) thinks that Josephus' words suggest even the conjecture that Herod was personally present at John's preaching. Compare Mark vi. 20, which need not refer to the time after John's imprisonment. See also Luke xxii. 8 for the appropriateness of this to Herod's character.

² Edersheim, Hoekstra, etc., think that Herod usually resided at Livias, his new name for the improved Beth-haram, his Perean capital; but apparently on insufficient grounds.

³ Cf. Josh. xv. 48, xi. 21; Gen. xiv. 10.

plain, and which, according to Pliny,¹ was broad enough to include the site of Jerusalem. Mary's approach is thus conceived of as first across the great plain of Esdraelon and then up among the hills. What town, however, she sought in this mountainous country is an enigma which has taxed the powers of a whole series of Œdipuses to solve. The two simple words πόλιν 'Ιούδα, have been read in at least four different ways by the commentators: either "a city of Judah," or "the city of [the country] Judah," or "the city of [the patriarch] Judah," or "the city [namely] Judah." And this is but the first step in divergence. Before those who adopt the indefinite translation, the way is open for the guessing of almost any city in the land; and the opportunity has not been wholly unimproved. Those who translate definitely, think either of Jerusalem or of Hebron, as respectively the chief political and priestly city of Judah. While those who hold the fourth divide into advocates of Jutah in the south, and of Khurbet-el-Jehud in the west.

As a mere question of grammar, any one of the four translations is tenable; but exegetical objections press on each of the first three with sufficient force to throw a distinct probability in favour of the fourth. It is rather difficult to believe, for instance, that Luke, writing when he did, and after the careful enquiry which he tells us he made, did not know in what town so great a man as John was born; and the context hints that he desired to narrowly define the place. Nor, again, is it natural to suppose that 'Ιούδα and 'Ιουδαία are both used in the same context (verses 39 and 65) to express the same notion; for although this phenomenon does occur at Matt. ii. 1, 6, it is there due, apparently, to the adoption of ver. 6 from the Old Testament. It seems impossible, once more, to understand such a phrase as "the City of Judah," whether the

¹ *Hist. Nat.*, v. 15.

subauditum refers to the country or the patriarch, of Hebron, in the absence of any other example of, as well as of any ground in the history of the place for, such a usage of the term. On the other hand, the natural implication of verses 23, 39, and 65, forbids us to understand Jerusalem to be meant,—for which, otherwise, a good case could be made out. Thus it appears far the most natural course to take "Jouda" in our passage as referring to the name of the town.

But who shall decide for us between Jutah and Khurbet-el-Jehud? If the latter name is really a survival from old time, and is not to be translated simply, "the ruins of the Jews," the exact correspondence of the name will throw the probability on its side. Dr. Caspari, the father of this identification, justly urges in its favour—the tenacity of Oriental names; the extreme, even ridiculous breadth of the title "ruins of the Jews" considered as the local designation of one heap of insignificant ruins in Palestine; the teeming wealth of Johannean reminiscences in the surrounding country—for here are Ain Karim,¹ Mar Zacharia, the Wilderness of John, etc.; and the testimony of the Chronicon Paschale (Olymp., 184) to the existence of a town bearing such a name, at an appropriate distance from Jerusalem.² On the other hand, it cannot be asserted, as some have asserted, that Jouda is an impossible representative for Jutah,³ and its position on the verge of the bleak desert country which John was to make his home, pleads powerfully in its favour. It is easy to suggest the obvious objections, that in the case of Jutah the T does not seem to

¹ Thompson puts the birth-place of John here, simply on tradition.

² *εις πόλιν 'Ιούδα, ὅσαν ἀπὸ μιλίων ἰβ'.*

³ The Hebrew יוד lies close to and is interchangeable with ת; and, although usually represented in Greek by T, and next, most frequently by Θ, it is not altogether impossible to find examples of its passing into Δ. *E.g.* Gen. x. 6; 1 Chron. i. 8, the Hebrew יוד becomes in the LXX. Φούδ, which is a fair parallel to 'Ιούδα as a representative of Ἰουδαί.

have been popularly softened into D, seeing that it still stands as Yúttah, and that the town had been at this date long in the hands of the Idumæans. But it is not so easy to reach a well-grounded opinion as to the comparative merits of the two claimants to the name of Jouda. On the whole, it seems that we have no choice left but to confess that we lack decisive considerations to sway our judgment. The question must remain for the present *sub judice*, and we must be content to think of John as first seeing the light in southern Judea, either in the little hamlet of Jouda in the Wády Bettir, south-west of Jerusalem, or in the larger village of Jutah, south of Hebron.

The next notice of John's whereabouts gives no special trouble, chiefly because, perhaps, it offers us no geographical description, but rather a general statement as to the nature of the regions (note the plural) in which John spent his early life. He was a genuine child of the desert; and "was in the deserts until the day of his manifestation to Israel" (Luke i. 80). No special desert is thought of, or at least no particular one of the numerous wildernesses in or near Judea is specified; the statement amounts only to declaring that John dwelt apart from men, in the wild and uninhabited regions, until God visited him there (Mark i. 4; Luke iii. 2) and put his message into his mouth and sent him forth with meteor-like unexpectedness once more among men. Then, as the time (Luke iii. 1, 2), so the place, of the sudden flaring-up of the beacon-light is more exactly recorded. The ministry of the Baptist begins in that one of the deserts which in the Old and New Testaments alike is called the "Wilderness of Judea" (Matt. iii. 1), and about the general position of whose "horror"—"Jeshimon" is the standing Old Testament designation of it—there can be no doubt (Judg. i. 16). Its exact boundaries are less certain, its limits may even never have been very exactly set. But although the "desert" country, be-

yond question, ran along the whole course of Jordan from the Dead Sea north (Josephus, *B. J.*, III. x. 9), it is probably not justifiable to extend the "Wilderness of Judea" even far enough north to embrace the northern coast of the Dead Sea and touch upon the river. It lay rather to the south, and constituted that terrible region, seamed and scarred as if with convulsions of pain, the whole parched border of which was lapped by the accursed waves of the Bitter Sea. Here it was that the *vox clamantis in deserto* first smote the startled air with its one cry of, Repent! It suited well that such a preaching should first sound forth from such a place,—that such a ministry should take its rise amid such surroundings.

It was plainly impossible, however, for John to fulfil his ministry of baptism in so inaccessible and parched a corner of the land. Thence his voice could reach but few of the thousands to whom he was sent. And the only considerable fountain in it had been already, perhaps, pre-empted by the Essenes, with whom John had no manner of affiliation. It is not unnatural, therefore, that we next hear of him moving northwards and, though still in the desert country, on the banks of Jordan (*Matt.* iii. 6). In the succinct summary of the work of John, which alone the Synoptics give us, we read in Luke (iii. 3) that he came preaching and baptizing in "the whole region circumjacent to Jordan"—which, taken literally, implies that he travelled up the stream, preaching and baptizing as he went. This construction of the sense is borne out by Matthew's statement that the inhabitants of the whole Jordanic region were baptized by John, to accomplish which it is easiest to suppose that he moved gradually up the river in the prosecution of his work. An examination of the localities where we hear of him will prove this very natural supposition to be correct.

Where John began his baptizing in Jordan we do not in-

deed know. But as his preaching had already begun in the Wilderness of Judea, it is natural to suppose that he first drew the crowds about him on the lower stretch of the river, say about Jericho. This agrees with the hint given by Matthew of the apparently immediate effect on Jerusalem: "all Jerusalem," or, as Mark puts it, "all the Jerusalemites," were attracted to him, and the great numbers from the city which are thus implied seems to point to a site for the baptizing easy of access from it. A tradition preserved by Origen, who seems to have made diligent inquiry, and whom we may credit, mentions a place called Bethabara,¹ as another site of John's baptizing; and it may be counted as one of the great services which Capt. Conder has done to Biblical research, that he has pointed out that this name still lingers as 'Abârah, the name of a ford a little north of Beisân and the Wâdy Jalûd. It was certainly somewhat late in John's ministry when we find him at a place called by St. John (i. 28) "Bethany beyond Jordan," where he is surrounded by Galileans, and where our Lord is baptized. The mere fact that the Jerusalemites of the earlier period have here given way to Galileans suggests a northern site for this place. On the ground of these facts alone, one is justified in asserting that John carried his message from one end of Palestine to the other.

When we attempt to determine the exact site of Bethany-beyond-Jordan, we find ourselves immersed in difficulties equal to these that attended our search for πόλις Ἰούδα. We yield ourselves to Dr. Caspari's guidance here too. He seeks the site in the mound somewhat east of Jordan and north of the Lake of Genesaret, which is now called Et-Tell, and which is often (though not with the approval of the most recent investigators) identified with Bethsaida-

¹ It can scarcely be necessary to remind the reader that this name is an unauthorized intruder into the text of John i. 28, where Bethany is the true reading. Nor can it be necessary to say that Bethabara and Bethany cannot be confounded and made one place of, as Capt. Conder has tried to do.

Julias. The direct evidence which he adduces for this identification cannot be said to be copious, but it is somewhat striking. The Arabic word "Tell," meaning "mound," "heap," is one of the commonest of prefixes to Palestinian names, so that Et-Tell, "the mound," is not a name, but only a piece of one, awaiting in this case also its distinguishing suffix. This was supplied by Seetzen's "Gaulonitish Guide," who gave the name of the place as Tell-Anihje, which looks very much like Beth-Anihje, or Bethany, in ruins. And Seetzen may be independently corroborated by Pococke, who calls the place Telouy, which is most likely only a misprint for Telony. It may be added that Captain Conder apparently heard the same name as applying to this Tell.¹ The linguistic objection which he brings against its identification with Bethany is of no force until we settle exactly what the Shemitic original is that "Bethany" represents.

Whatever, however, may be thought of this precise identification, it is capable of something very like demonstration that Bethany was situated in the region about Et-Tell, north of the Lake of Galilee. It has been already pointed out that the nationality of the crowds which surrounded John had changed to a more northern complexion. That he was now baptizing, not near Jericho but some three days' journey north of it, follows again from the length of time consumed by Jesus' journey from this place to the Olivet Bethany, when called by the death of Lazarus.² We should reach still narrower limits, and be directed pointedly north of the lake, if the reading "*Bethany*" instead of "*Bethsaida*," in Mark viii. 22, which Drs. Westcott and Hort put in their margin, and Ewald de-

¹ *Survey of Western Palestine. Special Papers*, p. 132. He gives it as *Tell-Anihji*.

² The *πρὸς* of John x. 40, is of course relative to John's own narrative, and refers back to i. 28. For the counting of the *days*, see Meyer on John i. 28. and xi. 17.

fended as genuine, could be adopted. At best, however, such a support is precarious, and we prefer to rest our case on two sets of facts that appear to us not to be liable to much doubt.

The first of these arises from a comparison of the Synoptic parallels with John x. 40, which certainly refers back to i. 28, and the settlement of the site mentioned in which will, therefore, settle also the site of Bethany. From John x. 40 itself we learn no more than was already apparent in i. 28; but the parallel passage in Matthew (xix. 1, 2) throws a flood of light on the locality when it tells us it was within the "coasts of Judea beyond Jordan," which is, beyond question, the New Testament form of "Judah of Jordan" mentioned at Joshua xix. 33. At that passage we are told that it bounded the possessions of the northern tribe of Naphtali—whose "portion" reached quite to the river—on the east. According to the investigations of Von Raumer,¹ now quite generally accepted, this northern trans-Jordanic Judah consisted of the possessions of Jair, who a son of Judah himself, held an inheritance in Manasseh from his heiress mother,² and from whom they were generally called in the Old Testament Bashan-Havoth-Jair.³ That this inheritance was included in the province of Gaulonitis, Jerome in the Onomasticon explicitly witnesses. A curious memorial of the name "Judah" is still found in the tombs called Seid Jehuda, adjacent to some important ruins, noted by Dr. Thompson.⁴ Thus it is in the far north, above the Lake of Galilee, in Gaulonitis, that we must look for Bethany.

A careful examination of the account given by St. John

¹ Tholuck's *Litt. Anzeig.*, 1834 1 and 2; and Von Raumer's *Palästina*, Ed. 4, p. 233.

² Note his curious double genealogy in consequence, as given in the second chapter of 1 Chron. and Deut. iii. 14, and Num. xxxii. 41.

³ e.g. Deut. iii. 14; Num. xxxii. 41; Josh. xiii. 29.

⁴ *Land and Book* Ed. 1 vol. i. p. 389.

of the movements of our Lord after His baptism will lead us independently to the same result. Wherever the temptation is to be placed in John's narrative, it is plain that at i. 29 the Baptist is still (verse 28) at Bethany. On the next day (i. 35) he points Jesus out to John and Andrew. Andrew immediately, the same afternoon—after ten o'clock (verse 39)—seeks Peter (verse 41). Now, Andrew and Peter lived at Bethsaida (verse 44), and if Bethany was in the neighbourhood of Et-Tell, Bethsaida was but a few miles away, and the whole transaction becomes natural. The next day (verse 43) Jesus Himself goes into Galilee, evidently, from the succeeding context, bound for Cana. The first thing that happens is that Jesus finds Philip (verse 43). Where? The narrative adds, apparently without connexion, "Now Philip was of Bethsaida." But if we suppose that Jesus started from the neighbourhood of Et-Tell, the first town He would reach would be Bethsaida, and this unconnected sentence becomes no longer unconnected, but assigns the reason why Jesus happened so early to find Philip. Philip next finds Nathanael (verse 45) later in the same day. Now Nathanael was from Cana, and accordingly we find Jesus the next morning¹ (ii. 7) at Cana,—not on the way to Cana, but at Cana. Apparently he reached Cana on the night before. But again, if he started from Et-Tell or its neighbourhood, this is natural enough, the distance being but twenty-one miles. Thus it would be natural that Philip on reaching Cana should seek out his friend and bring him to Jesus, and that the party should have been ready for the wedding the next day. Of course, none of all this is possible if we place Bethany far south, near Jericho; and only the latter part of it natural if we place it south of the lake at all. Apart from all other

¹ The "third day" of ii. 1 appears to be counted from i. 35. We might have had "on the morrow" here, too, as at i. 48, 35, 29, no doubt; but John prefers to continue to count from i. 35, when Jesus began to gather disciples.

considerations, this fitting of the minute details of John's narrative into the supposition of a northern site for Bethany seems to prove the correctness of that supposition. It is scarcely necessary to add that the phrase in John iv. 54, "This is again the second sign which Jesus did, having come out of Judea into Galilee," in no wise suggests that he did His first sign (ii. 1-11), "having come out of Judea into Galilee." This temporal clause is no part of the comparison, and has no reference to the first miracle; it is simply a pointed and strong declaration of the time when the second sign was given—namely, at the close of the Judean and beginning of the Galilean ministry; it thus marks a second beginning, which is appropriately ushered in by a second sign, like the first, significant of the nature of the work to follow.

It seems to be justifiable, therefore, to declare it to be certain that by the time our Lord came to His baptism, John had traversed the whole length of Palestine, preaching repentance. The emergence of this fact is of historical value in two separate aspects. It enables us better to understand, on the one hand, the enormous effect which John's work had on the community, and on the other the especial fitness of the time and place that were chosen by our Lord for His baptism.

The almost unprecedented success of John's brief ministry of six months, before our Lord's appearance, has been made an objection to the historical exactitude of our Gospels. And, indeed, the Evangelists do seem to exhaust hyperbole in describing it. Jerusalem and all Judea and all the Jordan country is represented as having been profoundly moved by it. Even the proud and cold ruler-classes, the Pharisees and Sadducees, though unrepentant and incapable of repentance, partook of the general excitement, and appeared on the banks of Jordan. An official delegation was sent by the Sanhedrin to inquire into the intentions

and pretensions of the new prophet. The crowd thus appears to have swept everything before it, and to have forced even the rulers into notice of the new phenomena. Even Herod himself perhaps was drawn out of his palace to the desert by the universal enthusiasm.¹ Nor was this effect entirely evanescent; its profound and long-enduring influence on the people is evident in the memory it left behind it, and is witnessed to by Josephus as well as the Evangelists.² Now of course all this implies a previous preparation of the people for the ministry of John himself. Judea must have been, and we otherwise know that it was, very much in the condition of an army sleeping on its arms, at every moment expecting the call to the onset, and feverishly ready to spring each man to his place on every cry of a Theudas or a Judas. John was but as the beacon, whose first shining calls a whole coast to arms, as a sudden trumpet-call falling on the ears of a waiting host. But the suddenness and completeness with which his appearance inflamed the whole land is far easier understood when we realize that he was not content with merely lighting the torch, but, seizing it, ran through the whole land and applied it everywhere to the smouldering tinder. His arousing call to repentance was not sent to echo only amid the desolate solitudes and profound clefts of the uninhabited desert, or to roll only up the valley that leads from Jericho to Jerusalem; he sent it reverberating through every valley of the land, and carried his proclamation of the coming kingdom practically from Beersheba to Dan. Thus he prepared the way before the Lord.

And the King delayed His coming until the preparation was complete. It was not until John had reached the

¹ See above p. 268, note.

² Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII. vii. 2. Cf. Matt. xi. 7; Luke vii. 24; Matt. xxi. 26; Mark xi. 32; Luke xx. 6; Mark vi. 20; John v. 38, x. 41; Acts xviii. 24, *seq.*, xix. 1, *seq.*

extreme geographical limit of his ministry—not until his work of arousing the people was fulfilled, and his voice had been heard throughout the whole land—not until he had thus performed the full work of a forerunner and way-preparer, that the Promised One came. It cannot be of no significance that Jesus comes to John and is presented to the people at His baptism, just as John reaches the *ultima thule* of his possible advance through the land. Here the significance of John's ministry also culminates. It is almost sad to note how evident is it also that John's influence over the people reaches its highest point here, and how true in every way it is, that from this moment he could only decrease while his Master increased. No doubt God had still a work for him to do ; some inkling as to the nature and importance of which may reach us in that noble testimony he was able to bear to his Master at Ænon (John iii. 23) ; and we do not know how needful it was for the Master's work to have John continue his through this puzzling period of overlapping dispensations. But it is abundantly plain that in much else than a merely geographical sense John turned his back on his furthest and highest attainment when he began to retrace his steps from Bethany. Even his faith suffered. And already at Ænon, the next and last place where he appears in public in the New Testament narrative, it is easy to see that he is losing his pre-eminence before the people, and it is becoming evident to the higher souls that "*non lux iste, sed lucerna.*"

The site of Ænon, it must be confessed, is not yet certainly determined. St. John describes it in words of evident but brief definiteness, as "*Ænon, near to Salim,*" where there were "*many waters.*" His first readers were plainly expected to understand the exact locality. But later readers have sought it everywhere, from the borders of Galilee to the edge of Idumea. Amid the many sites which have been proposed for it, however, there is one, first sug-

gested by Dr. Robinson, which has the weight of probability so decidedly on its side that we may fairly accept it provisionally. This is found in or near the Wādy Fārah, near a Salim which still exists in the south-eastern part of Samaria. The latest explorer, Prof. Stevens,¹ with great plausibility, suggests Rās-el-Fār'ah as the exact site—a remarkable body of large springs, the most considerable in Palestine, south of the sources of Jordan and Tell-el-Kady, and easily accessible from several directions. Their exact situation is at the western end of Wādy Beidān, the southern fork of Wādy Fār'ah, and some four miles from Salim. Hither, better than anywhere else in all Palestine, could John repair, because "there were many waters there." It is true that the springs no longer bear the name of Ænon, which at present is applied rather to some apparently modern ruins about five miles to the north-east. But the inappropriateness of the name to these ruins, near which there is not a drop of water, is extreme, and slight migrations of names are not unusual. That this site is in Samaria seems to some a still more serious objection. But we must remember that the springs, baths, and roads of Samaria were expressly declared clean by the Rabbis, and John's presence in Samaria at this time is not without historical propriety and significance. No longer the idol of the people (John iii. 26; iv. 1)—the object of distinct enmity from the side of the ruling-classes (iv. 1; cf. iii. 23)—perhaps already hunted by Herod (Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII. vii. 2)—Judea, Galilee, and Perea seem to have been alike closed to him. Already his ministry was nearing its end. There seems an intimate connection between the dispute between John's disciples and a Jew about purifying (iii. 25), and the comparative desertion of John for Jesus by the people (iii. 26) on the one hand, and the cause of Jesus' with-

¹ *Journal of the American Society of Biblical Exegesis, and Literature*, for 1883, pp. 128-141.

drawal from Judea (iv. 1) and John's imprisonment (Matt. iv. 12) on the other, which binds all these events together and adds at once an increased nobleness and sadness to John's testimony: "He must increase but I must decrease" (John iii. 30). The toils are already drawing around the hunted prophet, and there was no place in the whole land where he could safely preach.

His stay in Samaritan Ænon after the discourse recorded in the third chapter of John must have been short.¹ His imprisonment must have followed his departure thence almost immediately. Why he left his place of comparative safety—or whether it proved a permanently safe retreat for him—how he fell into the hands of "that fox," Herod Antipas, whether by too rashly venturing across the river into his Perea domains, or through the treachery of the Judean Pharisees, of all this we are left in complete ignorance. At Ænon, however, John's work, for us, practically closes. We hear afterwards only of his almost immediate imprisonment, of his year's languishing in confinement, of the notable message sent from his dungeon to Christ, and of his shameful death. But not a word does the New Testament drop as to the places where all these things took place. Josephus comes indeed to our help to cast one ray of light on John's latter days, by telling us that he was imprisoned in the strong fortress of Machærus, at the extreme southern limit of Herod's Perea dominions. There, no doubt, the Tetrarch could feel that the prophet, whose rebukes smote his heart and whose popularity aroused his fears, was safe from rescue by the people. But whether this was the first place of John's imprisonment, or the sole place of his long confinement, Josephus' brief notice is scarcely able to satisfy us. At all events, we cannot go far wrong in supposing that it was the place of his death; so that, in sight it may be of the western wastes where he

¹ Notice the "therefore" in iv. 1, and the Synoptic parallel.

began his work, he at last laid down the burdens of his life—the greatest who had, up to his day, been born of woman, become the victim of a lustful woman's rage.

Once more, then—from Bethany to Machærus—John had traversed the entire land; but in how different a progress from his triumphal march from Engedi to Merom was his diminished return! Then, surrounded by ever-increasing multitudes of devoted followers, the favourite of the people and the prophet of the Lord, he mounted at every step higher and higher, until it was given him, amid the open glories of heaven, and in the visible and audible presence of Jehovah Himself, to present their promised King to His expectant people. Now, gradually deserted by all but a very few faithful followers—hemmed in by ever growing dangers—the victim at once of increasing indifference on the part of the people and increasing hatred on the part of the rulers—he sinks into lower and even lower case, until, a prisoner in the hands of a conscienceless tyrant, he is almost deserted by his very faith, and, dazed by misfortune, puzzled by the inscrutable ways of God, but clinging still to his moral convictions, he yields at last his life to his stern sense of duty and the machinations of an angered harlot. The inner change is almost as striking. For, what a contrast there is between the John of Bethany, crying with assured conviction, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world! . . . I have seen and borne witness that this is the Son of God!” and the John of Machærus, asking in doubt and fear, “Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?” Surely such a contrast bears witness not only to the deadening blows of sudden calamities, but also to the life-destroying attrition of gradually-accumulating and long-continuing trials; all of which were, however, nothing more than the fulfilment of his own prophecy, “I must decrease.”

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

*THE STRUGGLE FOR CHRISTIAN LIBERTY
IN GALATIA.¹*

SCARCELY two years had passed since St. Paul had been required to interpose at Thessalonica in order to recall some over-excited brethren to the wisdom of the just, when it became necessary for him to write also to the Churches of Galatia in vindication of Christian liberty, which was seriously threatened among them. Just what the Act of Emancipation was to the slaves in the English colonies, was the Epistle to the Galatians to the primitive Church. It marked a new stage in its development. This Epistle is the manifesto of the spiritual enfranchisement won by Christ for all believers. It was by studying and appropriating this Epistle, that Luther was enabled to strike off the fetters weighing down the spiritual and moral life of one section of the Christian world. In this Epistle he found the secret of his own deliverance; hence he declares himself "wedded" to this letter, and called it his "Catherine Bora." Taking this as his weapon, he plunged into the fearful conflict with the papistry and religious materialism of his time. This was the pebble from the brook, with which, like another David, he went forth to meet the papal giant, and smote him in the forehead.

In our own time, this Epistle has again been brought into prominence by a man of genius of a very different order. It is from this Epistle mainly that the leader of the Tübingen school, F. Baur, has derived his most specious arguments, in support of the idea which forms the basis of his system of criticism. His idea is, that there was a radical opposition of principle between St. Paul and the twelve Apostles. This very suggestive idea, originating in the brain of the *savant*, and becoming diffused first among theologians, has in our day found its way down to the

¹ Written for the *EXPOSITOR* by Professor Godet, and translated by Mrs. Harwood-Holmden.

masses of the people, and has contributed, with other causes, to undermine their Christian belief.

So mighty an influence, then, is this Epistle to the Galatians, as it is rightly or wrongly interpreted, both for evil or for good.

Who were these Galatians, whose name points directly to the Celts, Gauls, or Gaëls? History tells us that somewhat later than the middle of the third century before Christ, a king of Bithynia in Asia Minor, called to his aid some tribes of Gauls; and that these tribes, mingled with some of Germanic origin, were settled by him in the centre of the peninsula, in the fertile plains watered by the river Halys, now the Kizil-Irmak. Living there in the midst of the old Greek populations, they adopted their language, and hence this province received the name either of *Galatia* or of Gallo-Græcia. The attempt recently made by the theologian Wieseler to establish the Germanic origin of the Galatians, and to represent their conversion as the beginning of the Christianization of the Germanic peoples, has totally failed. The relation between the name of *Galatian* and that of *Celt*, the declaration of Justin that one of the tribes that had come to settle in the country, the Techtosages, had Toulouse as their capital, and other facts too numerous to be detailed here, leave no room for doubt that the Galatians came originally from Gaul; and if Jerome, who had visited that country, thought he discovered certain resemblances between their language and that of the inhabitants of Treves on the Rhine, this coincidence (which might indeed have been only imaginary) is easily to be explained by the declarations of Cæsar and Tacitus, who tell us that the inhabitants of Treves were themselves at this time of Gallic origin.

The Galatians had built for themselves three cities of some celebrity. Ancyra, the best known, Pessinus, and Tavium; and it was probably to the Christian congregations

in these cities that Paul addressed the letter to which our attention is now directed. In the midst of the pagan population there was found, especially at Ancyra, a large and wealthy Jewish colony. In the famous bronze tablet, called the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which is let into the wall above the altar of the temple of Augustus at Ancyra, and on which is inscribed a copy of all the decrees passed by the monarch in favour of the inhabitants of that city, special mention is made of the rights and franchises granted to the Jewish population of the country.

The foundation of the Church in these regions is not narrated in the Book of Acts; hence certain writers have supposed that the Churches of Galatia were no other than those founded by Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey into the more southerly provinces of Asia Minor. This seems the more probable from the fact that Augustus, after reducing Galatia to a Roman province in the year 26 B.C., extended the name of that province to Lycaonia and Pisidia, the very regions into which Paul and Barnabas carried the Gospel on their first missionary tour. Nevertheless, the theory does not seem to us admissible. In the first place, such administrative denominations are not rapidly adopted into the popular speech, which St. Paul uses; in the second place, it is a positive fact that in Acts xvi. 5, 6, Luke distinguishes Galatia from the more southern provinces. Lastly, there is this yet more conclusive argument derived from the Epistle itself, that in Chap. iv. 12-15, St. Paul alludes to an illness which had detained him in Galatia, and had thus led to the foundation of the Churches in that province. Now it is certain that the mission of Paul and Barnabas was not in consequence of any illness, since they were sent out by the Church at Antioch, entirely with a view to preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles.

Since then we cannot assign the foundations of these

Churches to the first missionary journey, it must be assigned, at the earliest, to the beginning of the second journey, the time indicated in the words (Acts xvi. 6), "When they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia. . . ." Paul was then travelling with Silas and Timotheus. He was attacked with an illness which, judging from certain expressions he uses in his Epistle, must have been of a humiliating and repulsive character (Gal. iv. 14), "*that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected,*" and which detained him some time among these people. They showed an extraordinary love for him; they opened their hearts to the Gospel, and several Churches were founded (Gal. i. 2). It is evident from the Epistle that these Churches were composed mainly of Gentiles (Chap. iv. 8, v. 2, vi. 12). But it may be assumed that some among the Jews recognised Jesus as the promised Messiah (iii. 28, iv. 3). We cannot explain why the founding of this Church is not mentioned in the narrative in the Acts. Perhaps Luke was not sufficiently acquainted with the details of Paul's sojourn in Galatia, to attempt a narrative of it. In the same way, Luke makes no mention of Paul's journey into Arabia at the beginning of his ministry, though Paul himself refers to it in the first chapter of this Epistle.

After accomplishing his mission in Greece, from the autumn of 52 A.D. to the summer of 54, and after visiting Jerusalem and Antioch, as was his custom at the close of each of his mission journeys, Paul passed again through Galatia on his way to Ephesus, where he was to carry on his third mission. Luke says indeed (Acts xviii. 23) that "having spent some time at Antioch, he departed and went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablishing all the disciples." These closing words are very suggestive. They show first, that the Church had really been founded by Paul on his previous journey; for

it cannot be doubted that he was at least its chief founder. (Comp. Gal. i. 8, iv. 13, 19.) This expression, "stablishing all the disciples" indicates that difficulties had already arisen among these young Churches, and this conclusion is confirmed by certain expressions in the Epistle, in which Paul alludes to the earnest warnings he had already addressed to them. Thus in Chap. i. 9 he says: "As we have said before, so say I now again, If any man preacheth unto you any other gospel than that which ye received, let him be anathema." And again (Chap. iv. 16): "So then am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" And again (Chap. v. 21): "I forewarn you, even as I did forewarn you, that they which practise such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." The Apostle hoped, however, that he had left the Galatians confirmed in the true faith of the Gospel, and in the way of Christian holiness. "Ye were running well," he says to them (Chap. v. 7). It was then a sad surprise and grief to him to hear, soon after his arrival at Ephesus, that troublesome persons had been in Galatia and had so quickly shaken the faith of the Christians.¹ Who were these disturbers of the Churches? It is easy to divine. Those same Judaising teachers who had previously troubled the Church at Antioch, had now travelled into Galatia, swooping down like birds of prey upon every place where the new life, awakened by the preaching of Paul, was asserting itself. The Galatians had lent an ear to these new teachers. They were on the point of submitting to the rite of circumcision by which they would be identified with the Jewish people (Chap. v. 2, 4). Already they were observing the feast days fixed by the Mosaic law (Chap. iv. 10). They had come to look with suspicion upon Paul himself. Their apostle seemed to have become their enemy (Chap. iv. 16). These strangers had come between

¹ "I marvel that ye are so quickly removed," etc. (Chap. i. 6.)

him and them and had separated them from him (Chap. iv. 17). They accused him of modifying his teaching to suit the people with whom he had to do (Chap. i. 10); and the poor ignorant Galatians listened to such calumnies! All the fruit of the Apostle's labour was thus in danger of being brought to nought. "I am afraid of you, lest by any means I have bestowed upon you labour in vain" (Chap. iv. 11).

Such was the situation when St. Paul took up the pen. These words may be taken here in a literal sense, for what he says in Chap. vi. 11, rightly understood, implies that Paul, contrary to his custom, wrote this letter with his own hand, evidently with the intention of impressing on the Galatians the great importance which he attached to what he had to say. The Epistle to Philemon is the only other Epistle thus distinguished.

In order to carry their point the adversaries of Paul had begun by raising doubts in the minds of the Galatians as to his apostolic authority. As Paul was not one of the twelve Apostles, chosen by Jesus Christ, they asserted that he was merely an evangelist who, after receiving the knowledge of Christianity from the Twelve, had lifted up his heel against his teachers; and in order to please the Gentiles, whose Apostle he claimed to be, was preaching a Gospel opposed to the apostolic model. The Twelve, they said, continued to observe the Mosaic law, as Jesus Himself had done, and made it incumbent upon the new converts; while Paul, on his own authority, arbitrarily broke every yoke, and baptised all the Gentiles who believed, without requiring them to be circumcised or to keep the law of Moses.

The question of Paul's authority as an apostle obviously lay at the root of the matter. It is with this therefore the Apostle begins his letter. It is treated in the first two chapters. In the very words with which he opens

(Chap. i. 1-5) he refers to this disputed point, declaring that if he had not been made an apostle during the life of Jesus on earth, he had been so made by the Risen Jesus, and herein his apostleship was assuredly not inferior to that of the Twelve (Ver. 1). Then by introducing (Ver. 2) all the brethren who were with him at Ephesus as co-senders of this letter, he adds their testimony to his own as to this purely personal matter. After this preamble, the Apostle, omitting the usual thanksgiving, proceeds at once to express the sorrowful surprise which filled his heart. "I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you in the grace of Christ, unto a different gospel" (Ver. 6), and he pronounces a curse upon those who have thus troubled them. For, he says, the Gospel he preached to them he had received from Jesus Christ Himself. When from a persecuting Jew of the straitest sect, God made him an apostle of the Lord Jesus, no other apostle had any part in his conversion nor in the ministry which followed. For three years he preached both at Damascus and in Arabia without having seen one of the apostles, simply declaring the Gospel which he had received by revelation from the Lord Himself, that he might be the minister of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

To this primary fact, which vindicates his entire independence, as an apostle, of the Twelve, he adds a second in the early part of Chapter ii. He shows that his authority as an apostle had been clearly recognised by the other apostles themselves, when he went up to Jerusalem to discuss with them his methods of evangelisation among the Gentiles. He had then taken with him, undoubtedly of express design, a young Christian named Titus, of Gentile birth and uncircumcised, in order to ascertain whether he would be received at Jerusalem into the fellowship of the Christian community. A formidable opposition was raised

by one party composed of false brethren privily brought in, who tried to force upon the Gentiles the observance of the Mosaic ritual. But this attempt failed.¹ The apostles themselves refused to add anything to St. Paul's Gospel teaching; and not only did they endorse the doctrine by which he exonerated the Gentile believers from all legal bondage, but they recognised his apostleship as of equal authority with their own, admitting that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to Paul as the Gospel of the circumcision was to Peter. This did not at all imply, as has been asserted, that these were two different Gospels, Paul being the apostle of one and the Twelve of the other, which would be equivalent to two different ways of salvation, and two opposing Christianities. On the contrary, they recognised that it was *the same God* (Chap. ii. 7, 8), who had intrusted the Twelve with the ministry of the Jews, maintaining the old legal ceremonies, who had commissioned Paul to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles without these observances. And in token of their complete equality as apostles and of their true oneness of spirit, they gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas, as workers together with them in one and the same cause. This solemn recognition on their part, must put to silence all the accusations of Paul's adversaries in Galatia.

To this second decisive fact, Paul adds a third, which should satisfy the Galatians, not only of his dignity but of his competence as an apostle, namely, the contest which he had had with Peter himself at Antioch. Peter had been taught by the vision given to him at Joppa (Acts x.), that he was not to regard as unclean the believing Gentiles who did not observe the Mosaic ritual. But this vision did not decide the question whether the believing Jews should or

¹ It seems to me impossible to accept with M. Renan, the reading of the Cantabrigiensis and of Tertullian, which omits the words *οἱ οὐ δέ*, at the beginning of verse 5.

should not hold themselves free from such obligation. In the assembly at Jerusalem (Acts xv. and Gal. ii.), there had been a general consent on the point of not imposing any Jewish ceremonials on the Gentile Christians; but the believing Jews had been tacitly left *in statu quo*, so that they would still continue to keep the law of Moses. During his stay in Antioch, in a Church composed for the greater part of Gentiles, Peter yielded to the broad and generous impulses of his heart, and to the permission he had received from God when he went to the house of Cornelius (Acts x. 28). He fraternised freely with these new brethren, and unhesitatingly set aside the legal observances which would have separated him from them. But, recalled to order by brethren who came from Jerusalem, he suddenly drew back and refused longer to eat with any but Jewish Christians. Then Paul, before the whole assembly, vigorously pointed out the inconsistency of his conduct; and then he openly laid down the principle, that in the cross of Christ was contained the abolition of the law, not only for the Gentiles, but for the believing Jews (Chap. ii. 19, 20), "For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ." We may gather from Paul's silence as to the effect of this argument, that Peter had nothing to reply to it.

This then is the gist of the first part of the Epistle. How was it possible, after three such facts, that the Galatians should call in question the reality of Paul's vocation as an apostle, his apostolic dignity and qualification for his high office? But important as was this preliminary point, it was after all, only a question of competence and therefore of form. It was needful to go to the root of things. Was the enfranchisement of the believers both Jew and Gentile, which Paul had preached in Galatia, a truth or an imposture? The adversaries of the Apostle had powerful arguments to urge—the example of Jesus Christ Himself,

who had to the end observed the law—the example of the apostles, who still observed it; the Messianic promises of the Old Testament which proclaimed salvation only to the Jews, thus implying that the Gentiles must needs incorporate themselves with the Jewish nation by the rite of circumcision, and the acceptance of the Mosaic code; finally, the many passages in the Old Testament in which the perpetuity of the law was declared to be like that of the ordinances of the heaven. The fabled labours of Hercules were light compared to the burden laid upon any one who would undertake, in face of such arguments as these, to defend the cause of Christian emancipation from the law. It is to this arduous task the Apostle devotes himself in the second part of his letter (Chap. iii. iv.).

He commences by appealing to the experience of the Galatians themselves. The graces of the Holy Spirit had been manifested in their Churches. He asks, Did you receive these gifts by virtue of any legal rites, or through simple faith in the Crucified One? The facts themselves give the answer. Their regeneration took place under the simple preaching of the Gospel, and before any one had hinted that they must be subject to rites and ceremonies (Chap. iii. 1-5). After this introduction, the Apostle goes into the question itself.

There is in the Scripture one great model example of justification, the case, that is, of the man Abraham, who, though still a sinner, was placed in relation to God, in the position of a just man. How did he obtain this privilege? The book of Genesis tells us. He believed the promise of God, and this act of faith God counted to him for righteousness. Now God Himself has made this example of Abraham the type of the way of justification for all men, saying: "All nations shall be blessed in thee," consequently in the same way (Chap. iii. 6-9). And it is easy to understand why God acted in this way. If He had annexed the gift of

righteousness to the fulfilment of the law, the gift would be nullified. For the law of Moses proclaims a curse on any one who breaks it any way whatsoever, and this is done by all men ; so that if Christ had not been made accursed for us we should all be under the curse. How then could the blessing promised to Abraham come upon us either as Jews or Gentiles ? We must cling, then, to the means by which Abraham himself was justified, that is, to simple faith (Chap. iii. 10-14).

This becomes still more evident if we consider that the promise of justification and salvation was made to Abraham and to his spiritual seed many centuries before the giving of the Law. How then could this gift, coming so long after the original promise, suddenly annex to the fulfilment of the promise a condition of which no mention was made at the first ? Even between men no such thing would be permissible. An engagement being once made, no new clause can be afterwards introduced to modify it. Here St. Paul draws attention, in passing, to the fact that the promise made to Abraham referred to *one seed* not to many. Many interpreters have imagined that Paul means here to point to Christ Himself as the *one seed* in opposition to the multitude of individuals composing the Israelitish nation, as though Paul was ignorant of the collective sense of the Hebrew term which signifies posterity. But it is enough to read Rom. iv. 11, 12, 16 ; ix. 6-8, in order to be convinced that Paul knows and applies the collective sense of the term used both in Hebrew and Greek. The opposition which he brings out in the verses before us is not between the Christ as an individual and the multitudes of the Jewish people, but between the *spiritual seed* of faith, which alone is heir to the promises, and other lines of Abraham's descendants, of an altogether different character, especially that to which his adversaries referred, the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, *i.e.* the Jewish people

as such. God, in making His promise to Abraham, had not contemplated for one moment two seeds different, but both equally legitimate, the one by faith the other by the flesh, two hostile families of justified and saved ones. He had ever contemplated but one seed, the characteristic of which is the ever fresh reproduction of the faith of Abraham, and which is all virtually contained in Christ, who is the Head of which it is the body (Chap. iii. 15-18). This interpretation is brought out very clearly in Rom. ix. 6-8.

But what end, then, was to be served by the law, if its fulfilment was not a condition of salvation? By making those who were subject to it conscious of the contradiction between their feelings and actions and the Divine holiness, it prepared them to accept, when the fulness of the time was come, the only true way of salvation—Christ, by faith in whom they become children of God, and whether Jews or Gentiles, compose that one spiritual family, that true seed to whom the promises belong, and which is all one in Christ Jesus (ver. 28). In the argument in Chap. iii. 19-29, which we have thus summed up, there occurs a passage which is thought to be one of the most difficult in the New Testament, and of which Dr. Jowett asserts that there are already four hundred and thirty different explanations. After saying in verse 19 that the law was ordained through angels by the hand of a Mediator, namely, Moses, the Apostle adds in verse 20, "Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one." What does this mean? Taking the whole drift of the passage, the intention of the Apostle can be nothing else than to bring out the inferior part assigned to the law in relation to the promises made to the patriarchs.¹

¹ The promises made to the patriarchs, as we have just seen, hold out salvation to man on no other condition but that of faith, while the law does not deal directly with the gift of salvation, and is only a means of preparing man to receive it. Assuming this point of view, we may take the remark in ver. 20 in two leading senses, according as we attach to the word *mediator* the sense of

The conclusion to be derived from the preceding argument is given at the beginning of Chap. iv. 1-11. The law having been only a means of preparing the people to accept the salvation which should be one day wrought out for them in Christ, its use ceases with the manifestation of Christ and the offer of salvation. And it is as absurd for those who have once received Christ to place themselves again under the yoke of the law, as it would be for the heir of a great estate, having attained his majority and entered on the legal possession of his property, to place himself again under the tutelage of his guardians.

The application thus becomes more direct. The Apostle speaks to the heart of these Galatians. Why should they be afraid to shake off the yoke of the law under which they are voluntarily placing themselves, when they see how Paul, who was by birth under the yoke, had shaken it off for their sake? Was he seeking their hurt in giving them this counsel? Had they done him some ill which might tempt him to lead them into error? On the contrary, had they not shown him the tenderest love? Had he made

intermediary between two contracting parties, or that of representative of one of the contracting parties, including a number of individuals. As to the application of this term of mediator to Moses, not to Christ, this seems beyond question. In the first sense, there is only need of a mediator where there are two contracting parties; hence there is none where God has given the promise. God acted directly in person with Abraham. Now as God is one (with Himself) and cannot fail of His word, the promise is thus perfectly assured. The law, on the contrary, which is given by means of a mediator between God and the people, supposes two contracting parties; and since it is possible that the second party (the people) may fail to fulfil their engagements, it follows that the contract may possibly be annulled. In the second sense: A plurality of persons can only act through one representative, who acts on their behalf; it must then be the angels who gave the law, not God, since God is one and hence would need no intermediary. This second sense seems to me incomparably the more simple. On the former explanation we must take the word *one* first in the numerical sense (one alone), and then in the following proposition in the moral sense (always one with Himself), which is very forced. Then again, we are compelled to admit that the law and the promise are compared with each other as two real means of salvation, which is contrary to the whole of St. Paul's arguments.

himself their enemy by frankly telling them the truth when he was among them? No! but he has jealous rivals, who have thrust themselves between him and them, and he travails again in birth for them till he sees them delivered from this delusion and settled in the truth of Christ (Chap. iv. 12-19).

Finally, as if by a sudden inspiration, he tries another argument. He says, "You who desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?" and he reminds them of the hatred of Ishmael, the son of the bondwoman, to Isaac, the son of the free wife, and the casting out of the slave's son, which soon followed. Such in these days, he says, are the relations between the slaves of the law who have come to trouble you, and the free children who receive the adoption of sons by faith. And the day will come when the slaves will be cast out of the house of God by the Divine judgment. This application of the story in Genesis has often been regarded as a sort of rabbinical allegory, because men have failed to see that at the basis of the two facts thus correlated by the Apostle, lies one and the same permanent law of the kingdom of God—the law of natural enmity between the flesh and the spirit, the hostility which breaks out whenever and wherever, under any form, these two principles encounter each other in the progress of the Divine work. This is no arbitrary and artificial allegory, in which two facts are linked together simply by reason of some outward and accidental analogies.

It is then demonstrated from the Old Testament itself—that Divine document in the name of which Paul was accused of falsifying the Gospel—that the law counts for nothing in the moral act by which man is justified before God, any more than it had any part in the act by which Abraham received the promise. But here another question arises: Will not man, if thus set free from all external law, become the prey of his carnal instincts? And will not this

absolute liberty as regards the law degenerate into licence? Quite the contrary, replies the Apostle; and he proves it in the third part of his letter (Chap. v. 1-6, 10), "With freedom did Christ set us free; stand fast, therefore, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage," by those who seek to persuade you, and who slander me, as though I preached to others another Gospel than that I have declared to you. . . . They are false teachers, and will receive their punishment whoever they be (Chap. v. 5-12).

Only be careful to render always as the complement of your spiritual liberty, that which is equivalent to the fulfilling of the whole law—the voluntary submission of yourselves by love, which the Holy Spirit will work in you. From this will spring the spontaneous fulfilment of all the obligations imposed by the law. Thus, placed under the energising influence of the Spirit, you will keep the flesh under without the restraint of any law. The fruits of the Spirit will take the place of the works of the flesh, as "the old man becomes crucified with Christ" (Chap. v. 13-26).

A series of exhortations follows, such as was doubtless demanded by the state of these Churches after the painful crisis and fierce struggles through which they had been passing (Chap. vi. 1-10).

In conclusion the Apostle expresses the deep concern for the welfare of the Galatians, which had prompted him to write this long letter with his own hand. He complains of the bad faith of his adversaries who, while trying to enforce circumcision, do not themselves keep the law, and contrasts their conduct with his own utter devotion to the cross of Christ. Lastly he reminds them by one pathetic allusion, that the man whom they are grieving by their defection is one who bears in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus.

If we take a general view of this very powerful letter, we find it groups itself around three leading ideas:—

The Apostle of liberty; called and qualified, no less than the Twelve, by Christ Himself.

The Doctrine of liberty; proclaimed by the Old Testament no less than by the Gospel.

The Life of liberty; the holiness of which is even more effectually secured by the law of love proceeding from the Holy Spirit than by the law of Moses.

This Epistle may then be fairly called the Act of Emancipation of the slaves of the law in all ages. In our day this is no startling idea. We have become familiar with it through the writings of the Apostle. In order to estimate its extent and significance, we must go back in thought to the times in which this religious and moral conception sprang like a new creation from the mind of the Apostle, which was opened by the Holy Spirit to receive the knowledge of Christ and His work. This short Epistle to the Galatians was, then, like a lever powerful enough to lift the world from its old foundations and place it upon a new basis.

One is ready to ask somewhat curiously, whether this letter, begun in indignation (Chap. i. 6), continued in a strain of wondering pity (Chap. iii. 1), and closing with expressions of tenderest love (Chap. iv. 19), fulfilled its purpose, or whether after all it failed. M. Renan tells us that the Apostle, having dictated it in one breath, sent it off instantly without re-reading; and he thinks that if Paul had taken one hour to reflect, he would not have let it go in this form. M. Renan suggests many things which, if they were true, would make us hopeless of any good effects from this letter of the Apostle. Happily there are other considerations to reassure us. Two years later, the Apostle, when arranging for a collection to be made in Greece on behalf of the Church at Jerusalem, writes to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 1), "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the Churches of Galatia, so also

do ye." We are certified, then, that the Christians of Galatia had placed themselves again under the guidance of the Apostle, and had recognised both the validity of his apostleship and the truth of his teaching. The letter had then done its work.

It remains for us to enquire into one special point which is not without importance if we would come to a right understanding of the Epistle to the Galatians, and indeed of Paul's ministry generally.

Who were these adversaries of the Apostle, who, after troubling the Churches of Antioch and Cilicia, now threatened to frustrate his work in Galatia?

In Acts xv. 1 they are described as certain men who came down from Judæa (to Antioch) and in ver. 5 they are introduced in these terms: "There rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, saying; It is needful to circumcise the Gentiles, and to charge them to keep the law of Moses."

From the sequel of the narrative in the Acts, it is evident that this proposal was rejected by the apostles and the elders and Church at Jerusalem. Baur and the Tübingen school maintain that this narrative in the Acts is incorrect, and ought to be rectified by that of St. Paul himself (Gal. ii.). They hold that the apostles themselves shared in the wish to make circumcision and the Mosaic law binding upon the Gentiles. It was they themselves who tried to compel Paul to have Titus the Gentile, whom he had brought with him to Jerusalem, circumcised before being admitted into the Church there. This is the special argument of Hilgenfeld, who has treated the subject with much ability.

It is said in Gal. iv. 2 that Paul absolutely refused to have Titus circumcised because of the *false brethren privily brought in* who tried to bring him into this bondage. St. Paul refused *because of them* says Hilgenfeld; it follows then

that the refusal was not addressed to them directly. And if not, to whom then was it addressed but to the apostles?

This seems a fair argument, but it proves the very opposite of what is intended. If, indeed, the *false brethren* privily brought in, had demanded the circumcision of Titus in concert with the apostles, and on grounds on which they were all agreed, why should Paul have refused, because of the false brethren, not because of the apostles?

But even supposing the apostles had really desired Paul to have Titus circumcised—which is nowhere said and cannot be proved—they would in any case have asked it in quite another spirit and for quite other reasons than those urged by the *false brethren*; and it was because the reasons advanced by these false brethren, and by them alone, were incompatible with the Apostle's principles, that he absolutely refused to accede to their demand. There was then an essential difference between the motives of the false brethren and those of the apostles. What was this difference? This is not hard to understand. The false brethren said "Circumcision is essential, without it there is no salvation for the Gentiles" (Acts xv. 1-5), while the apostles, supposing they had urged the same thing upon Paul, would have said, "Doubtless you are free in this matter; but if you can yield the point, do so for the sake of the Church's peace and out of consideration for those among us whose consciences would otherwise be wounded." If the request had been made to Paul in this way, as a free concession, he might have yielded out of Christian deference to others, for circumcision was to him a matter of indifference from a moral point of view (Chap. vi. 15). He could practise it or set it aside as seemed best for the kingdom of God (1 Cor. ix. 19-22). But here were false brethren, who would have abused any concession, and would, without fail, have construed it into an obligation to which he had been compelled to submit; and this would have been made a precedent

which would ever after have crippled him in carrying the Gospel of liberty to the Gentiles. Hence the Apostle's inflexible refusal, This is the explanation of ver. 3, 4. The Gentiles generally at Jerusalem were not required to be circumcised, so that even (*οὐ δέ*, ver. 3) the Gentile Titus, who was there present in the midst of that assembly of Jewish Christians, was not compelled to submit to the rite, and that (*διὰ δέ*, ver. 4), precisely because of certain false brethren who would have exalted its observance.

The position then is perfectly clear. At the two extremes were, the false brethren on the one hand, and St. Paul on the other. The former insisted on the acceptance of the law by the Gentiles, and their incorporation with the Jewish people, as a condition of salvation. The Apostle, on the contrary, considered not the Gentiles only but the believing Jews themselves as freed from the law of Moses, the law being abolished for them by the Cross of Christ (Chap. ii. 19). Between these two extremes there were various shades of opinion, as was the case at the time of the Reformation and in all such great revolutions of thought. First, there were the Twelve, who, like the great mass of the Judæo-Christians, continued to observe the law, but who were not desirous, as the false brethren were, to make it incumbent upon the Gentiles. This is sufficient proof that they did not regard these legal observances as necessary to salvation, but simply as an act of piety becoming a Jew, and from the fulfilment of which only God Himself could release them. This they expected Him to do on the return of Messiah. Of the Twelve, Peter, when he was among the Gentiles, even went so far as to hold himself free from the Levitical law concerning clean and unclean meats, preferring to [it the higher law of Christian brotherhood. Had he not been taught this lesson by his vision at Joppa? (Acts x. 10-16, 28, 29.)

James, on the other hand, seems to have held the

Christians of Jewish origin bound to a rigorous observance of the Mosaic law, even when mixing with Gentiles. This comes out clearly from Gal. ii. 12, where we are told of certain who were sent from James, and who, coming to Antioch, recalled Peter to order. It must be admitted that James had on his side at least the tacit consent of the conference at Jerusalem (Acts xv.). If he carried too far, and interpreted too strictly, the conclusions there arrived at, it must be borne in mind that he was not an apostle, and that the Lord had had reasons for not calling him to this service.

But why does St. Paul give to the ultra-legalists the name of false brethren, and speak of them as *privily thrust* in? What right can he have to call in question their sincerity and their discretion? It is not difficult to find in the Epistle the answer to these questions. We see, from what he says (Chap. v. 11), "But I brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted? then hath the stumbling-block of the cross been done away," that the adversaries of Paul did not persecute him really for the preaching of the cross, but simply because he would not, in preaching among the Gentiles, add to it the obligation to be circumcised. These false brethren had only accepted the Gospel as a means of extending over the whole world the reign of the law, and they would but too gladly have welcomed the immense missionary influence of the Apostle, if they had been able to turn it to account as a means of spreading Mosaism among the Gentiles. It was solely because Paul would not lend himself to this manoeuvre, that they pursued him with their hatred, and hindered his work in every way possible. Hence Paul calls them "false brethren." They looked at Christianity only as a means for bringing about the triumph of Judaism, and if they professed to believe in Jesus as Messiah it was only in order to advance the triumph of Moses and the kingdom of Israel

among the Gentiles. With them, the law was the end, and the cross the means. Could Paul consider such faith sincere?

If to the epithet "false brethren," Paul adds "privily thrust in," he does not refer to their having unwarrantably joined themselves to the Church, for this would be mere repetition, and St. Paul never repeats himself; but he refers to the fact that they had come to the Church at Antioch, not as brethren desirous of being instructed and edified with the rest, but as spies, bent on finding out what was passing in the young Church, and particularly desirous to see how Peter, Barnabas, and the other Jewish Christians comported themselves. This is what Paul intends when he says that they were come "to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage" (Chap. ii. 4). The Epistles to the Corinthians will give us yet further information as to these converts from Pharisaism, whose hearts had remained the same under the Gospel as under the law—indeed, had become worse. When the "old man" assumes the part of the Christian, he becomes two-fold more the son of Gehenna. It is not enough that the old serpent changes his skin, he must needs die.

F. GODET.

EXEGETICAL NOTES FROM SERMONS.¹

OUR FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST IN NATURE.

Heb. ii. 14.—Forasmuch then as the children *have in common* with one another the nature of *blood and flesh*, He also Himself *took of the same nature with them*. That is, in the incarnation He assumed our nature in its weakness of flesh that He might first by suffering hallow it and by

¹ Canon Evans has kindly allowed the Editor to select various exegetical notes from his sermons preached in Durham Cathedral.

His bloody Passion consecrate it on the cross and by His Resurrection from the dead exalt it to God's right hand, and might thence from heaven give it back to us in the Eucharist,—for what end? To the end that we might become *possessors in common of a Divine nature* (not as in our Version partakers of the Divine nature or Deity—a misrendering which misled Waterland): in other words that we might become *fellows with Him* and with one another in His own Humanity, yea in the substance of His own Humanity,—a substance enriched with new qualities and ennobled with Divine attributes, even with “all the complement of the Godhead corporeally.” For He condescended to *fellowship with us* in our humiliated humanity, in order that we might be exalted exceedingly unto brotherhood and *fellowship with Him* in His glorified Humanity. To this effect Chrysostom makes our Lord say, O mankind, I have become a *fellow with you*—for your sakes: again that Flesh and Blood, by which I have become akin to you, I give back to you.

THE NATURAL AND THE SPIRITUAL.

1 Cor. i. 16, 17.—*The bread which we break* after consecration or benediction *is it not* the medium of our communion with Christ and with one another *in the body of Christ?*

How often in Scripture is the natural consecrated to be the medium of the supernatural! And there is always a congruity and meetness of correspondence between the outward sign and the inner thing signified. The material rock gushing with streams in the desert was a vehicle of a spiritual rock, even Christ in effect. The sacred animal breath which our blessed Lord before His Ascension breathed on His disciples was not only the meet emblem but true vehicle also of Holy Spirit; for He *blew* on them, He

breathed strong and steadfast upon them and said *Take Holy Spirit*; and they, the disciples, received their Master's sensible breath, and with it an instalment of His own Godman's Spirit.

T. S. EVANS.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES.

A CONTINUOUS perusal of the book of Exodus from end to end leaves upon my mind the impression that there is in it the protoplasm of the whole action of God in the complete sphere of human history; in other words, I have not met with any phase of Divine revelation or ministry which is not to be traced in at least dawning outline in this second book of Moses. Emphasis is to be laid upon the continuousness of the reading, for it is quite conceivable that a casual glance would discover a ruggedness amounting almost to chaos in the distribution of the infinite materials—a ruggedness not to be subdued and smoothed into the general music but by a mood of soul at once ardent and devout.

Take, first of all, the personal revelation of God, the abruptest of all the miracles, and yet the most suppressed; a flame in a wilderness, barred in and made intense by branches that the wind might have broken—and a Name as mysteriously human as the bush is mysteriously equal to the solemn occasion; then another Name not human at all, in its first impression on the mind; a Verb whose conjugation cannot go beyond a line, an I AM that doubles back upon itself and waits with mysterious patience to “become flesh and dwell among us.” Meanwhile it will leap like a spirit into the shepherd-wanderer and find in him a rude and temporary incarnation. But the first Name is the human one, and truly most unexpected and

startling when we consider its import. "I am the God of —." Given such a beginning, to find what the end will be? Where does the speaker begin his historical Godhood? Surely Adam and Eve will be recovered from their unaccountable obscurity, and in the bloom of Edenic beauty will be to Moses an almost rival revelation—or Abel who died at the altar—or Enoch who never tasted death—or Noah who began the new world: all these surmises, so obvious because so natural, are contradicted by the fact. Abraham is the head of the new race; the larger Adam; the living Faith. God did not date Himself so far back in history as to bewilder the solitary and overpowered inquirer, but placed Himself within domestic associations and in living relation to names that made the very earth and sky of the lone man's little world. Thus was God quite near to Moses, yet in a moment He withdrew into Eternity and spoke as the I AM, without angel, or child, or spirit, to break His awful solitude. For what purpose is He so revealed? That He may bring to pass the most terrific collision yet known in human history. A battle is being arranged within the sanctuary of the burning bush. Egypt is the pride of the world, and her power is to be broken. No doubt her arm is mighty, but the bones of that mean strength shall be melted like wax by the fire that spares the frail bush. Chariot against chariot shall dash in war; the lightning of heaven against the iron of Egypt; so now we shall see whether the Lord's thunder or Pharaoh's noise conceals the heavier bolt.

And why this trial of arms? Will the Lord set Himself in array of battle against a candle which a breath might extinguish? For one reason only, viz. that He may deliver and redeem and sanctify a people; that His strength may make a way for His love; that the education of the world may be moved one battle-field nearer the temple of wisdom. If God fought for victory He need never fight; He fights

that He may teach ; He lengthens the day of battle that He may enlarge all human conceptions of His purpose, and sway with infinite persuasion every human will in the direction of holiness and truth.

The details of the mortal contest must be separately studied. How it ended may be known from the song and the dance, the passionate refrain and the clanging timbrel, the harmonious shout and the ordered rapture, which in all their ecstasy but dimly typify the apocalyptic music whose storms shall welcome the completion of the purposes of God. To the Revelation, the Battle, the Song, many an addition must be made if Exodus is as complete as it has just been supposed to be. A little wandering and chiding, a miracle or two, and then comes the first magnificent addition, the LAW! The moral universe begins to take shape. Instincts, habitudes, wordless motions, aspirations which cannot fall immediately into fit speech, now undergo crystallisation and stand out in many a strange figure as might stand the world to the open eyes of a man born blind. A greater battle than the fight with Pharaoh began with the giving of the Law—a subtler contest—a strife between darkness and light. The Law vindicates its own Divine origin, so exceeding broad is the commandment, so infinitely exquisite the infusion of mercy, a mere flush of warm colour on the neutral grey of the steel statute, a hint rather than a stain of blood-like hue, as if an atonement were not far away, yet the time of its agony not fully come. The Law will not have any man smitten with impunity, the pregnant woman shall be sacred from all injury, the eye of the slave shall be paid for with liberty, no man shall wantonly feed his beast in another man's field, no stranger shall be vexed or oppressed, no widow or fatherless child shall be afflicted, the ass or the ox of the enemy shall not be permitted to go astray, the innocent and the righteous were not to be slain—a pathos so profound brings tears of

joy to the reader's eyes, and so tenderly is the heart moved that when Israel cries in battle music, "The Lord is a man of war," we answer in a thankful hymn, "His tender mercies are over all His works." So Israel was not taken out of Egypt merely to humble the oppressor or destroy the tyrant. The purpose vindicates the means. The river must be turned into blood, frogs and lice and flies must be sent, boils and blains, and hail in blackest tempests of ice must not be spared; in themselves they would be but a display of dramatic violence, but in the purpose they were intended to express they were servants of righteousness and liberty and education. By such means, initially, were the evil effects of four centuries of servitude to be overcome; the violence is the love in adapted action. The same process is repeated in every age, with change of accidents, it may be, but the purpose is unchangeable.

Revelation, Battle, Song, and Law. What more is needed? God Himself will answer, so our invention need not disquiet itself. Perhaps the answer may be so expressed as to be its own proof of origin. This is the answer: "Let them make Me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them." This comes after the compassionate parts of the Law with tender grace. All the way God seems to have been coming nearer as the Law softened in its tone almost into Gospel. At the beginning of the Law no man was permitted to come near; if so much as a beast touched the mountain it was to be stoned or thrust through with a dart; and so terrible was the sight that Moses said, "I exceedingly fear and quake;" and now God says, as if His heart ached with some agony of desire, "Let them make Me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them." The movement is thus evermore from Law to grace, from distance to nearness, from the throne to the cross. In no rhetorical sense, or sense needed to make up halting rhythm, but in a solid and historical way, exact enough in

its throb for science itself, yet sublime enough in its symbolism to throw prophecy into despair. Beginning with fire, with smoke as the smoke of a furnace, with a trumpet sounding long and waxing louder and louder, who could have foretold that the Majesty thus accompanied would desire to dwell with the sons of men? But this is the effect of all true law. At the one end it cleaves asunder, at the other it enlarges itself into new relations and looks wistfully over happier possibilities. The course of literal law is always self-vexatious. Why is the letter impotent? Because man himself is not a letter. Man is a spirit and can be ruled by spirit only. Not the law, but the lawgiver can satisfy the soul that burns in the bush of the body. The rod smites and hurts, but not until it blossoms does it fulfil even the purpose of law. So now the meaning of the burning bush begins to dawn: it meant that God wished to "dwell" with men, to set His tabernacle side by side with human habitations, and to be accounted Father by all generations. Sinai was too high, the cloud too thick, the lightning too awful, so a house must be built, and the very building of it should be to the builders a spiritual education,—a most gracious condescension, and on the one side of it a mystery profoundly adapted to human nature by permitting man to build the house whilst forbidding him to fashion the God. In view of these spiritual and transcendent revelations, all other questions drop into secondary interest. We care but little at this lustrous point whether Philition built the pyramids, or Rameses the oppressor of Israel was the best or worst of Theban kings; in view of Sinai the avenue of sphinxes sinks into contempt, and "the petrifications of the sunbeam" look small beside the unhewn towers of the rock: not only Egyptian history but the history of Israel also assumes new valuations; it is now quite matter of secondary interest to trace the march from Succoth to Etham, from Etham to the encampment be-

tween Migdol and the pastures of Pi-hahiroth over against Baal-zephon, and on to the point made memorable by the passage of the Red Sea, whether in the north by Magdôlon or in the south under the shadow of Jebel Attâka. The mind is in no temper for such holiday investigations; for the Lord God has Himself proposed to "dwell" with men. It is of small import at this critical moment to know that the Song of Moses is marked by the usual "parallelism of clauses," and that from a critical point of view the triplet stanzas interrupt the regular cadence with unusual frequency, for we are about to witness the setting up of the very presence-chamber of Jehovah.

The character of the book of Exodus seems to change immediately upon the announcement of the Divine purpose. Although still in the wilderness we are imaginatively amongst the treasures of Memphis, and Zoan, and Heliopolis, and Rameses, with abundance of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, and with such wealth of metal as to be able to make the very hooks of gold and the sockets of silver. The Temple of the Sun is to be extinguished by a new glory, and the consecrated calf of Ra is to give place to sacrifice charged with sublimest meanings. Is there not a subtle and suggestive harmony between what Israel had seen in Egypt and what it was about to see in the wilderness? The gods of Egypt had been well-housed, could Israel suppose that the God of Heaven would dwell in a mean habitation? For spiritual realizations men have to be long and almost severely prepared,—a wilderness requires a contrast. So this tabernacle is no fancy work. The sequence in which it follows is as severely logical as the point towards which it tends is ineffably spiritual. A strange thing is thus wrought in the earth. Invention is not invited or any form of natural cleverness; the inspired house like the inspired Book employs but willing hands to carry out the labour, the Builder and Maker is God. He

builds all houses—all lives, all books—that rest on the true foundation : at first the sacred house was outlined in cloud far up the hill ; but was not the universe itself thus outlined “from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was, before the heavens were prepared, or a compass had been set on the face of the deep,”—was it not all wrought in mystic but palpable cloud ? Did not the cloud revolve at His touch, and wheel in gyrations infinite, and cast out sparks that held in their heat the astronomic pomp that glows like a tabernacle in the wilderness of space ? What is all that upper glory, but blue, and purple, and scarlet, with an atmosphere for a veil, and a lamp fed eternally with consecrated oil ? He that built all things is God. If He built them out of a cloud, the greater is the miracle ; if He elaborated them from a molecule He is even vaster in power than our imagination had dreamt. The nebulous tabernacle may be a hint of the nebulous universe. The most wonderful of God’s visible creations are still wrought out in cloud ; what landscapes, cities, temples, forests, minarets of snow, and palaces fit for heavenly kings, are to be found in the clouds, let them say who have watched the sky with the patience of love.

The meaning of all this had a mysterious relation to the shedding of blood ! We come upon this revelation with a shock. The sequence is shattered by a tremendous blow. Up to this point we have been conscious of more than human refinement, and in a moment we burn with shame as if we had done some deed forbidden. So long as we were working with acacia wood, and pure gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, and stones precious as sardius and topaz, ligure and jasper, we were content, for a certain elevation moved us to nobler consciousness ; but suddenly, even whilst we gaze with religious delight upon the ephod, the breast-plate, and the mitre of Aaron, the blood of a young bullock flows by the door of the

tabernacle of the congregation, and whilst the flesh of the bullock is being burned as a sin-offering without the camp, two rams without blemish are slain, and the blood of the second is put upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and their garments are sprinkled, and the altar is bathed with the red stream; thus in a moment we who had touched with reverence the Urim and the Thummim, and the robe of the ephod blue as heaven's fairest summer, must watch "the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul that is above the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them," burned upon an altar whose horns dripped with the bullock's blood. The revulsion is infinite. For the explanation we must wait. Never more shall we get rid of blood. There was a mystery about its being sprinkled on the door-posts in Egypt—a mystery about the paschal lamb—that mystery will now follow us to the end. and re-appear in a heavenly anthem. It may be that the blood will become the true refinement, and that what we once accounted precious shall be less than nothing when compared with its infinite value.

JOSEPH PARKER.

RECENT AMERICAN LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PRESENT STATE OF SEMITIC STUDIES.—Old Testament literature is so entirely dependent on Old Testament scholarship, that it seems desirable to show how the way is being prepared in America for a more fruitful study of the Old Covenant. It is only during the past ten years that the Hebrew language has begun to receive that attention in our theological seminaries that it deserves.¹

¹ Professor Young in an article on *The Value of the Study of Hebrew for a Minister*, in *The Unitarian Review*, for May (Boston, 1879), shows that a great prominence was given to the study of the language until about fifty years ago.

With a very few exceptions it was previously taught in a dry uninteresting way, and was sadly neglected. During the curriculum of three years it was confined mainly to the first. The student beginning with the alphabet, on his entrance into the seminary, was expected to make such attainments in the language and literature of the Old Testament in nine or ten months, that one exercise a week during a part of the remaining course would be sufficient.¹ The practical result of this system was that very few students acquired such a knowledge of Hebrew, on graduation, as would enable them to read even one of the easiest narratives with comfort. Indeed, most were satisfied if, as occasion required during their ministry, they could determine the sense of a single passage in the original. All this is changed. The reason is twofold. Quite a number of young men have pursued their studies in German Universities, and the tendency of Old Testament criticism has been to awaken an interest in Hebrew where it was once dormant. Not to mention all our theological institutions, Union Theological Seminary, New York, through the influence of Professor Briggs and through its offer of a fellowship of £120 a year for two years to that graduate who shall be most successful in his studies, has prepared young men for professorships in Old Testament literature. While all these pursued their studies in Germany, some, if not all of them, began Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian as optional studies in the seminary. Although such inducements are helpful in raising up teachers, yet another step was needed to secure preparation in Hebrew on the part of students who were entering the seminary. As there is really no considerable opportunity for pursuing such studies in our colleges,² the plan was adopted at Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational) of offering a prize of £5 to each student who, on entering the seminary, could pass a written examination on the first twenty-one sections of Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar. An

He says: "From the first settlement of the country until little more than half a century ago, an acquaintance with it was considered essential to a liberal education, and undergraduates acquired more familiarity with it than is now gained by divinity students."

¹ See my inaugural address: *A Plea for a more thorough study of the Semitic Languages in America* (Chicago, 1879), p. 48 ff.

² According to Professor Briggs, *The Presbyterian Review* (New York, 1885), p. 135, Hebrew has been introduced as an optional study in the University of Virginia, Lafayette and Rutgers Colleges, New York, and in Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. To this list should be added Amherst College, Massachusetts.

additional prize of £10 was presented to the one who prepared the best paper at the examination. Applicants for admission to the seminary, who desired to try for the prizes, received instruction by correspondence free of expense. This plan has now been tried three years with good success. In all, seventeen students have passed the examination, and have been promoted to advanced standing in their classes. In the year 1881 a different phase of the work was begun by Professor W. R. Harper, of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, at Morgan Park, twelve miles south of Chicago. His object was to help ministers who had never studied Hebrew, to learn the language, and to aid those who knew it only imperfectly to acquire a mastery of it. Instruction was given by correspondence.¹ The number of those who sought this opportunity increased until there are now between six and seven hundred.² The same year he established a Summer School for the study of Hebrew, which was held four weeks. Twenty-three persons were in attendance; in 1882 there were sixty-five.³ So much interest was manifested in the following year that in 1884 he was invited to hold a second school at Worcester, Mass. At these schools not only elementary and advanced instruction was given in Hebrew and exegesis, but there were also competent teachers in Aramaic and Arabic, and at Worcester in Assyrian. Another year four Summer Schools are to be held. A large number of Hebrew professors in our seminaries have promised their co-operation, so far at least as moral support and encouragement are concerned, and it is hoped that ultimately every student who enters a theological seminary may be required to come prepared in Hebrew. However this may be, such schools cannot but be helpful. The method of instruction, which is termed by Dr. Harper inductive, is considered by him a much quicker way of learning the language than any other. At an early stage in the study of the language the first four chapters of Genesis are committed to memory. During this process the student is exercised

¹ He calls this mode of instruction, *The Hebrew Correspondence School*. It is certain that excellent results can be attained in this way, as the writer knows from experience with his own students.

² Almost every State in the Union is represented, and there are also correspondents in Canada, Ireland, England, Turkey, Syria, India, China, and Japan.

³ A statement regarding the results of this experiment may be found in *The Hebrew Student* for October, 1882, pp. 33-36.

on them in a colloquial way, and first learns the grammar by examples and afterwards systematically.

HEBREW GRAMMAR.—As might be foreseen, American scholarship cannot yet be expected to show any great fruits of independent research in the Old Testament, but it has made a beginning. Rev. H. Ferguson published an elaborate dissertation two years ago entitled *An Examination of the Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew*.¹ Dr. H. G. T. Mitchell, who studied three years at Leipzig, with Krehl, Delitzsch, Fleischer and others,² and who is now Professor in the School of Theology, Boston University (Methodist), has recently issued a book for beginners.³ It is based on experience, is handsomely printed with large type, and is on the same principle of progressive exercises as the best text-books of modern languages. Although no better book of its kind has been published in America, yet it is inferior to Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar in the scientific grasp which it affords students of the language. Mr. Charles R. Brown has prepared Part I. of *An Aramaic Method*.⁴ It contains the Hebrew text of the first ten chapters of Genesis, with the accompanying so-called Targum of Onkelos, as well as some other Targums on various passages. The book is also provided with paradigms, notes, and a vocabulary, and seems to be well adapted to the purpose for which it is prepared.

SACRED GEOGRAPHY.—The works on this subject are meagre compared with those of England and Germany, but are of importance. *East of the Jordan*⁵ embodies the observations in Moab, Gilead, and Bashan during the years 1875–1877, of Dr. Selah Merrill. As such the work is of permanent value. Whatever may be the ultimate decision of scholarship as to the success with which Dr. H. Clay Trumbull has defended his thesis as to the probable site of Kadesh-Barnea,⁶ which he identifies with 'Ayn Qadees,

¹ In the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* (1882), pp. 44–94. This Society has a membership of about ninety, and meets twice a year, in June and December, at some eastern city, for the presentation and discussion of critical papers on Biblical subjects.

² He presented a dissertation to the Philosophical Faculty at Leipzig, entitled, *An Examination of some of the final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 1–40, to obtain the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

³ *Hebrew Lessons* (Boston, 1884), pp. i.–vi.; 1–164; and 1–68.

⁴ Chicago: American Publication Society of Hebrew, Morgan Park, 1884.

⁵ New York, 1881, pp. i.–vii.; 1–549, and a map of the country explored by the American Palestine Exploration Society.

⁶ *Kadesh-Barnea: its importance and probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt*

the book is an honour to the author and the publisher, and clearly shows that there is no antagonism between a life spent in promoting the interests of Sunday Schools and careful scholarship.

OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.—There is no subject more difficult to understand in all the range of theology than modern Biblical criticism. In the many treatises which have been issued of late years on this subject, none have presented a complete view of the facts and principles of Old Testament criticism in their interdependence, except that of Dr. George T. Ladd, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, in Yale College, since 1881. His work¹ not only gives a survey of specimen results of Biblical criticism, with a good degree of fulness, especially in the Old Testament, but he also exhibits clearly the principles on which such criticism rests. Accepting the conclusions of the more moderate destructive critics, he proceeds to construct a doctrine of Sacred Scripture, which he thinks will admit all the established facts of modern criticism, and at the same time afford a tenable view of revelation. It is this combination of the facts and principles of criticism which gives the book a special value. The mastery which he shows of Old Testament studies would be highly creditable to a Hebrew scholar. The book is not based on his own investigations, but he is familiar with the chief works of foreign critics, and has quoted them with conscientious care.² So far as I am aware, he has furnished the most recent tables of the different documents according to the latest critical analysis of the so-called Hexateuch. His method is strictly inductive. He holds that we should not have an *a priori* theory as to revelation, inspiration, or as to the historicity, scientific, and ethical character of all parts of the Scriptures. The truth in regard to these can only be determined by research. After presenting the facts at length, he concludes that in the respects named the Scriptures bear the marks of human infirmity, and that the ordinary view of revelation and inspiration must be surrendered. He holds that the whole Bible cannot have been given by inspiration. He discriminates between

for it, including *Studies of the Route of the Exodus, and the Southern Boundary of the Holy Land* (New York, 1884), pp. 1-428.

¹ *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture: a Critical, Historical and Dogmatic Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Old and New Testaments* (New York, 1883), vol. i. pp. x., 1-261; vol. ii. pp. xiii., 1-265.

² Dr. Ladd has expended on these volumes ten years of miscellaneous reading, followed by five years of hard study and writing.

the Bible and the Word of God which is contained in the Bible, and which is recognised by the inner consciousness of believers. The work is written conscientiously and reverently, and yet the theory that those parts of the Bible which bear the marks of human imperfection are to be apologised for as such, and do not form a constituent part of Divine revelation, reminds one a little of the habit which some business houses have of charging all questionable dealings to the wicked partner. Certainly not all the results of criticism which he presents are assured, and the Church will demand a doctrine of Sacred Scripture which cannot so easily be turned into a weapon against her.

Quotations in the New Testament (by Dr. Toy, Professor of Hebrew and other Semitic languages in Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts), is the work of a ripe Old Testament scholar, who studied two years in Berlin, and was formerly connected with the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. Finding that his critical views regarding the Old Testament were not in harmony with the doctrinal position of his brethren, he resigned his chair and was subsequently elected to a professorship in Harvard College.¹ His work is a careful critical analysis of all the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. He gives the original text in Greek and Hebrew, together with an English translation. He utterly rejects Böhl's theory of a popular Aramaic version of the Old Testament in the time of Jesus,² and attributes the differences between the quotations and the original to the use of the Septuagint, to lapses of memory, and to a free use of uncritical and Rabbinical methods of interpretation. His standpoint, as displayed in this volume and in his little book entitled *The History of the Religion of Israel*,³ is entirely that of the modern critical school.

¹ He is also a lecturer on Biblical Literature in the Divinity School of the same institution. It is a singular fact that one of his pupils, also a Baptist, Dr. David G. Lyon, who studied three years in Leipzig with Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, is the Hollis Professor of Divinity; and that a Congregationalist, Dr. J. H. Thayer, formerly of Andover, is another member of the theological faculty; i.e., out of six professors three are not Unitarians. But it is one of the laws of the Divinity School that "every encouragement be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiassed investigation of Christian truth, and that no assent to the peculiarities of any denominations of Christians shall be required, either of instructors or students."

² Cf. *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu* (Wien, 1878), and *Die Alttestamentliche Citate im Neuen Testament* (Wien, 1878).

³ Boston: Unitarian Sunday School Society, 1894.

Professor Charles A. Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, studied in Berlin with Roediger and Dorner, and has held his present position for more than ten years, during which he has taught several of the Semitic languages with ability and success, and has brought the Old Testament department in that institution into greater prominence than it ever enjoyed before. His *Biblical Study*¹ is the residuum of certain articles prepared for reviews, as well as of two or three lectures. It is dedicated to Drs. Hitchcock and Dorner, "the survivors of two noble faculties," to whom he confesses that he owes his theological training. The work is really an encyclopædia of current discussions about the Old Testament, treating of the advantages of Biblical study, of exegetical theology, the languages of the Bible, the Bible and criticism, the canon of Scripture, the text of the Bible, Hebrew poetry, the interpretation of Scripture, Biblical theology, the Scriptures as a means of grace; and containing a catalogue of books of reference for Biblical study. The book is deserving of high praise as a useful epitome of valuable information carefully gathered from the latest critical sources. It is designed to vindicate the rights of untrammelled criticism. The standpoint is that of the modern critical school, although the author holds the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in a modified form.

Remaining literature, including the more important contributions to reviews, among which are several critical articles of a positive character, will be noticed in a subsequent number of the EXPOSITOR.

Chicago.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

BREVIA.

Lord Sabaoth.—κύριος Σαβαώθ, Rom. ix. 29; James v. 4, is rendered by A.V. and R.V. "the Lord of Sabaoth"; by Delitzsch, מְשַׁבֵּחַ. The Hebrew equivalent is undoubtedly the right one, but can the English rendering be justified? Surely "the Lord of Hosts," or "the Lord Sabaoth," are the alternatives. Why is it κύριος Σαβαώθ instead of κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, as generally in the Septuagint, unless Σαβαώθ has become a proper name. It is true that Sabaoth is never used without some word for God being prefixed; the parallel, Ashtar-Komosh (Moabite Stone, l. 17), offered by the French *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, is therefore incomplete.

¹ New York, 1884.

But this was necessary in order to avoid the appearance of astrolatry. I have elsewhere referred to the confusion made, as it seems, by a Roman prætor between the Phrygian deity Sabazius and the Sabaoth of the Jews (Val. Max., i. 3, 3). M. J. A. Hild has, I see, made the same observation (*Revue des études juives*, 1884, p. 1), adding that the collateral form, Sebazius, was connected by the Greeks with *σεβάλευν*, *σεβαστός*, which accounts for such a confusion on the part of any one who knew Greek. How strange the persistent refusal of Greek and Roman officials and *littérateurs* to acquaint themselves with the classic religion (as we may call it) of the Jews! But—"the kingdom of God cometh not with observation."

T. K. CHEYNE.

Notes on Ecclesiastes.—Dr. Klostermann's review of Dr. C. H. H. Wright's *Ecclesiastes in the Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, Heft 1, will attract those who can pardon the author's clumsy style and strong self-consciousness. Among the many more or less new views in it, we may mention (a) that of "the angel" in v. 6 as the destroying angel, who appears to the surprise and horror of the careless speaker of the curse (as Death appears to the old man in *Æsop*); (b) that of vii. 28, "among the few human beings who are each like one among thousands I have not found a single woman;" (c) the correction of *לִבִּי* into *לִבִּי* (*לִבִּי* for "conscience" occurs nowhere else); (d) the explanation of Koheleth as *ἡ συλλογιστικὴ (σοφία)*; (e) that of the Epilogue, as appended by the editor of *Ecclesiastes* to give the right view of the book—the details of this explanation are new.

T. K. CHEYNE.

The Seraphim.—May I, through THE EXPOSITOR, supplement my brief appendix on Seraphim, in the *Prophecies of Isaiah* (ed. 3, vol. ii. p. 296)? Perhaps the gifted young Assyriologist, whose name appears among the contributors, may give a word of assent or dissent. At any rate, Friedrich Delitzsch, in Baer's new edition of the Hebrew of *Ezekiel*, says (p. xiii.) that the lion-god Nergal has also the name *Šarrapu*, and the passage, *W. A. I.*, ii. 54, 76, from which this statement is derived, adds that this was the case in "the western land," i.e. Canaan. The lion signifies the burning heat of the sun. Altogether the theory that the sacred writers made a point wherever they could of elevating popular mythic expressions to the rank of spiritualized symbols has too large a basis of fact to be disregarded. By "sacred," I mean to express the uniqueness of the gifts and the spirit of Biblical writers.

T. K. CHEYNE.

In answer to Dr. Cheyne I would submit the following facts.

In the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. ii. pl. 54, 75, we have the following equation :—

AN. ŠARRA. PU (or BU). = AN. ŠAR or LUGAL. NIRRA.
MARKI.

Now Dr. F. Delitzsch argues from this that the god Nergal, who is spoken of in the lines above that quoted, was called "Šarrapu" in the west of Canaan (in terra occidentali (h. e. Canaan) numen leoninum, nomine Nêrgal, numen Šarrapu habuisse). It is perfectly true that Nergal is generally understood to be the lion-headed god, although actual proofs of this are wanting: but it must not be forgotten that he was the great god of Hades and also of pestilence and desolation. Moreover, there is nothing hostile to the idea that the word Seraphim may still be found in Assyrian and Babylonian, for its root is in common use in the historical inscriptions, being used by the narrator to express the burning of conquered cities. The fact is that Dr. Delitzsch has misunderstood the passage. If we accept his reading of the left-hand part of the equation, we learn from the right-hand part that one of the titles of the god Nergal was "Great King of the West:" but it does not follow, according to my view, from this that he was called Šarrapu in the west. The right-hand part of the equation is not to be read ŠARRAPU as Dr. Delitzsch thinks, but Šar-rabu "great prince" and if we translate the equation we have :—

AN. ŠAR. RA-BU. = AN. ŠAR or LUGAL. NIRRA. MARKI.
divinity, prince great = divinity, prince great of the West.

from which it is evident that both sides of the equation contain mere titles of the god Nergal. In this view I am supported by my colleague Mr. Pinches. Dr. Cheyne is, of course, right in the latter part of his note, for a remarkable instance of this fact is the mention of מְרַפִּים by Isaiah (xxxiv. 14): up to the present, however, the originals of the words Cherubim and Seraphim have not been found in the Assyrian and Babylonian tablets, I would call the attention of those interested in these matters to a short paper on the Cherubim by Mr. Renouf, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, for May, 1884. He has found what appears to be a very probable etymology of the word Cherubim, in Egyptian, where, however, the Cheresu are lions.

British Museum.

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BY REV. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.

- II. The Fayûm Manuscripts.

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A Defence. II.

- IV. The Transfiguration of the Body.

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- V. The Aim, Importance, Difficulties, and Best Method of Systematic Theology.

BY REV. JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

- VI. Meyer.

BY REV. PROFESSOR WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D.

- VII. Recent English Literature on the New Testament.

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THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

V.

*THE GLORY OF THE SON IN HIS RELATION TO THE
FATHER, THE UNIVERSE AND THE CHURCH.*

"Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation ; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers ; all things have been created through Him and unto Him ; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist. And He is the head of the body, the church : who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead ; that in all things He might have the pre-eminence"—Col. i. 15-18 (Rev. Ver.)

As has already been remarked, the Colossian Church was troubled by teachers, who had grafted on Jewish belief many of the strange speculations about matter and creation which have always had such a fascination for the Eastern mind. To us they are apt to seem empty dreams, baseless and bewildering ; but they had force enough to shake the early Church to its foundation, and in some forms they still live.

These teachers in Colossæ seem to have held that all matter was evil and the seat of sin ; that therefore the material creation could not have come directly from a good God, but was in a certain sense opposed to Him, or, at all events, was separated from Him by a great gulf. The void space was bridged by a chain of beings, half abstractions and half persons, gradually becoming more and more material. The lowest of them had created the material universe and now governed it, and all were to be propitiated by worship.

Some such opinions must be presupposed in order to give point and force to these great verses in which Paul opposes the solid truth to these dreams, and instead of a crowd of Powers and angelic Beings, in whom the effulgence of Deity was gradually darkened, and spirit became more and more thickened into matter, lifts high and clear against that background of fable, the solitary figure of the one Christ. He fills all the space between God and man. There is no need for a crowd of shadowy beings to link heaven with earth. Jesus Christ lays His hand upon both. He is the head and source of creation; He is the head and fountain of life to His Church. Therefore He is first in all things, to be listened to, loved and worshipped by men. As when the full moon rises, so when Christ appears, all the lesser stars with which Alexandrian and Eastern speculation had peopled the abysses of the sky are lost in the mellow radiance, and instead of a crowd of flickering ineffectual lights there is one perfect orb, "and heaven is overflowed." "We see no *creature* any more save Jesus only."

We have outgrown the special forms of error which afflicted the Church at Colossæ, but the truths which are here set over against them are eternal, and are needed to-day in our conflicts of opinion as much as then. There are here three grand conceptions of Christ's relations. We have Christ and God, Christ and Creation, Christ and the Church, and built upon all these the triumphant proclamation of His supremacy over all creatures in all respects.

I. We have *the relation of Christ to God* set forth in these grand words, "the image of the invisible God."

Apparently Paul is here using for his own purposes language which was familiar on the lips of his antagonists. We know that Alexandrian Judaism had much to say about the "Word," and spoke of it as the Image of God: and probably some such teaching had found its way to

Colossæ. An "image" is a likeness or representation, as of a king's head on a coin, or of a face reflected in a mirror. Here it is that which makes the invisible visible. The God who dwells in the thick darkness, remote from sense and above thought, has come forth and made Himself known to man, even in a very real way has come within the reach of man's senses in the manhood of Jesus Christ. Where then is there a place for the shadowy abstractions and emanations with which some would bind together God and man?

The first thought involved in this statement is, that the Divine Being in Himself is inconceivable and unapproachable. "No man hath seen God at any time nor can see Him." Not only is He beyond the reach of sense, but above the apprehension of the understanding. Direct and immediate knowledge of Him is impossible. There may be, there is, written on every human spirit a dim consciousness of His presence, but that is not knowledge. Creatural limitations prevent it, and man's sin prevents it. He is "the King invisible," because He is the "Father of Lights" dwelling in "a glorious privacy of light," which is to us darkness because there is in it "no darkness at all."

Then, the next truth included here is, that Christ is the perfect manifestation and image of God. In Him we have the invisible becoming visible. Through Him we know all that we know of God, as distinguished from what we guess or imagine or suspect of Him. On this high theme, it is not wise to deal much in the scholastic language of systems and creeds. Few words, and these mainly His own, are best, and he is least likely to speak wrongly who confines himself most to Scripture in his presentation of the truth. All the great streams of teaching in the New Testament concur in the truth which Paul here proclaims. The conception in John's Gospel of the Word which is the utterance and making audible of the Divine mind, the conceptions

in the Epistle to the Hebrews of the effulgence or forthshining of God's glory, and the very image, or stamped impress of His substance, are but other modes of representing the same facts of full likeness and complete manifestation, which Paul here asserts by calling the man Christ Jesus, the image of the Invisible God. The same thoughts are involved in the name by which our Lord called Himself, the Son of God; and they cannot be separated from many words of His, such as "he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." In Him the Divine nature comes near to us in a form that once could be grasped in part by men's senses, for it was "that of the Word of life" which they saw with their eyes and their hands handled, and which is to-day and for ever a form that can be grasped by mind and heart and will. In Christ we have the revelation of a God who can be known, and loved, and trusted, with a knowledge which, though it be not complete, is real and valid, with a love which is solid enough to be the foundation of a life, with a trust which is conscious that it has touched rock and builds secure. Nor is that fact that He is the revealer of God, one that began with His incarnation, or ends with His earthly life. From the beginning and before the creatural beginning, as we shall see in considering another part of these great verses, the Word was the agent of all Divine activity, the "arm of the Lord," and the source of all Divine illumination, "the face of the Lord," or, as we have the thought put in the remarkable words of the Book of Proverbs, where the celestial and pure Wisdom is more than a personification though not yet distinctly conceived as a person, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way. I was by Him as one brought up—or as a master worker—with Him, and I was daily *His* delight . . . and *My* delights were with the sons of men." And after the veils of flesh and sense are done away, and we see face to face, I believe

that the face which we shall see, and seeing, shall have beauty born of the vision, passing into our faces, will be the face of Jesus Christ, in which the light of the glory of God shall shine for the redeemed and perfected sons of God, even as it did for them when they groped amid the shows of earth. The law for time and for eternity is, "I have declared Thy name into My brethren and will declare it." That great fathomless, shoreless ocean of the Divine nature is like a "closed sea"—Christ is the broad river that brings its waters to men, and "everything liveth whithersoever the river cometh."

In these brief words on so mighty a matter, I must run the risk of appearing to deal in unsupported statements. My business is not so much to try to prove Paul's words as to explain them, and then to press them home. Therefore I would urge that thought, that we depend on Christ for all true knowledge of God. Guesses are not knowledge. Speculations are not knowledge. Peradventures, whether of hope or fear, are not knowledge. What we poor men need, is a certitude of a God who loves us and cares for us, has an arm that can help us, and a heart that will. The God of "pure theism" is little better than a phantom, so unsubstantial that you can see the stars shining through the pale form, and when a man tries to lean on Him for support, it is like leaning on a wreath of mist. There is nothing. There is no certitude firm enough for me to find sustaining power against life's trials in resting upon it, but in Christ. There is no warmth of love enough for us to thaw our frozen limbs by, apart from Christ. In Him, and in Him alone, the far off, awful, doubtful God becomes a God very near, of whom we are sure, and sure that He loves and is ready to help and cleanse and save.

And that is what we each need. "My soul crieth out for God, for the *living* God." And nowhere will that orphaned cry be stilled, but in the possession of Christ, in whom we

possess the Father also. No dead abstractions—no reign of law—still less the dreary proclamation, “Behold we know not anything,” least of all, the pottage of material good, will hush that bitter wail that goes up unconsciously from many an Esau’s heart—“My father, my father!” Men will find Him in Christ. They will find Him nowhere else. It seems to me that the only refuge for this generation from atheism—if it is still allowable to use that unfashionable word—is the acceptance of Christ as the revealer of God. On any other terms religion is rapidly becoming impossible for the cultivated class. The great word which Paul opposed to the cobwebs of Gnostic speculation is the word for our own time with all its perplexities—Christ is the Image of the Invisible God.

II. We have the *relation of Christ to Creation* set forth in that great name “the firstborn of all creation,” and further elucidated by a magnificent series of statements which proclaim Him to be agent or medium, and aim or goal of creation, prior to it in time and dignity, and its present upholder and bond of unity.

“The firstborn of all creation.” At first sight, this name seems to include Him as the eldest in the great family of creatures, and clearly to treat Him as one of them, just because He is declared to be in some sense the first of them. That meaning has been attached to the words; but it is shown not to be their intention by the language of the next verse, which is added to prove and explain the title. It distinctly alleges that Christ was “before” all creation, and that He is the agent of all creation. To insist that the words must be explained so as to include Him in “creation” would be to go right in the teeth of the Apostle’s own justification and explanation of them. So that the true meaning is that He is the firstborn, in comparison with, or in reference to, all creation. Such an understanding of the force of the expression is perfectly

allowable grammatically, and is necessary unless this verse is to be put in violent contradiction to the next. The same construction is found in Milton's

"Adam, the goodliest man of men since born,
His sons, the fairest of her daughters, Eve."

where "of" distinctly means "in comparison with," and not "belonging to."

The title implies priority in existence, and supremacy. It substantially means the same thing as the other title of "the only begotten Son," only that the latter brings into prominence the relation of the Son to the Father, while the former lays stress on His relation to Creation. Further it must be noted, that this name applies to the Eternal Word and not to the incarnation of that Word, or to put it in another form, the divinity and not the humanity of the Lord Jesus is in the Apostle's view. Such is the briefest outline of the meaning of this great name.

A series of clauses follow, stating more fully the relation of the firstborn Son to Creation, and so confirming and explaining the title.

The whole universe is, as it were, set in one class, and He alone over against it. No language could be more emphatically all-comprehensive. Four times in one sentence we have "all things"—the whole universe—repeated, and traced to Him as Creator and Lord. "In the heavens and the earth" is quoted from Genesis, and is intended here, as there, to be an exhaustive enumeration of the creation according to place. "Things visible or invisible" again includes the whole under a new principle of division—there are visible things in heaven, as sun and stars, there may be invisible on earth, but wherever and of whatever sort they are, He made them. "Whether thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers," an enumeration evidently alluding to the dreamy speculations about an angelic hierarchy

filling the space between the far off God, and men immersed in matter. There is a tone of contemptuous impatience in Paul's voice, as he quotes the pompous list of sonorous titles which a busy fancy had coined. It is as if he had said, You are being told a great deal about these angel hierarchies, and know all about their ranks and gradations. I do not know anything about them; but this I know, that if, amid the unseen things in the heavens or the earth, there be any such, my Lord made them, and is their master. So he groups together the whole universe of created beings, actual or imaginary, and then high above it, separate from it, its Lord and Creator, its upholder and end, he points to the majestic person of the only begotten Son of God, His Firstborn, higher than all the rulers of the earth, whether human or superhuman.

The language employed brings into strong relief the manifold variety of relations which the Son sustains to the universe, by the variety of the prepositions used in the sentence. The whole sum of created things (for the Greek means not only "all things," but "all things considered as a unity") was in the original act, created *in* Him, *through* Him, and *unto* Him. The first of these words, "in Him," regards Him as the creative centre, as it were, or element in which as in a storehouse or reservoir all creative force resided, and was in a definite act put forth. The thought may be parallel with that in the prologue to John's Gospel, "In Him was life." The Word stands to the universe as the incarnate Christ does to the Church; and as all spiritual life is in Him, and union to Him is its condition, so all physical takes its origin within the depths of His Divine nature. The error of the Gnostics was to put the act of creation and the thing created, as far away as possible from God, and it is met by this remarkable expression, which brings creation and the creatures in a very real sense within the confines of the Divine nature, as manifested

in the Word, and asserts the truth of which pantheism so called is the exaggeration, that all things are in Him, like seeds in a seed vessel, while yet they are not identified with Him.

The possible dangers of that profound truth, which has always been more in harmony with Eastern than with Western modes of thought, are averted by the next preposition used, "all things have been created *through* Him." That presupposes the full, clear demarcation between creature and creator, and so on the one hand extricates the person of the Firstborn of all creation from all risk of being confounded with the universe, while on the other it emphasizes the thought that He is the medium of the Divine energy, and so brings into clear relief His relation to the inconceivable Divine nature. He is the image of the invisible God, and accordingly, *through* Him have all things been created. The same connection of ideas is found in the parallel passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the words, "*through* whom also He made the worlds," stand in immediate connection with "being the effulgence of His glory,"

But there remains yet another relation between Him and the act of creation. "*For* Him" they have been made. All things come from and tend towards Him. He is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending. All things spring from His will, draw their being from that fountain, and return thither again. These relations which are here declared of the Son, are in more than one place declared of the Father. Do we face the question fairly—what theory of the person of Jesus Christ explains that fact?

But further, His existence before the whole creation is repeated, with a force in both the words, "He is," which can scarcely be given in English. The former is emphatic—He Himself—and the latter emphasizes not only pre-

existence, but absolute existence. "He *was* before all things" would not have said so much as He *is* before all things. We are reminded of His own words, "Before Abraham was, I am."

"In Him all things consist" or hold together. He is the element in which takes place and by which is caused that continued creation which is the preservation of the universe, as He is the element in which the original creative act took place of old. All things were and form an ordered unity in Him. He links all creatures and forces into a co-operant whole, reconciling their antagonisms, drawing all their currents into one great tidal wave, melting all their notes into music which God can hear, however discordant it may sometimes sound to us. He is "the bond of perfectness," the keystone of the arch, the centre of the wheel.

Such, then, in merest outline is the Apostle's teaching about the Eternal Word and the Universe. What sweetness and what reverential awe such thoughts should cast around the outer world and the providences of life! How near they should bring Jesus Christ to us! What a wonderful thought that is, that the whole course of human affairs and of natural processes is directed by Him who died upon the cross! The helm of the universe is held by the hands which were pierced for us. The Lord of Nature and the Mover of all things is that Saviour on whose love we may pillow our aching heads.

We need these lessons to-day, when many teachers are trying hard to drive all that is spiritual and Divine out of creation and history, and to set up a merciless law as the only God. Nature is terrible and stern sometimes, and the course of events can inflict crushing blows; but we have not the added horror of thinking both to be controlled by no will. Christ is King in either region, and with our elder brother for the ruler of the land, we shall not lack corn in our sacks, nor a Goshen to dwell in. We need not people

the void, as these old heretics did, with imaginary forms, nor with impersonal forces and laws—nor need we, as so many are doing to-day, wander through its many mansions as through a deserted house, finding nowhere a person who welcomes us; for everywhere we may behold our Saviour, and out of every storm and every solitude hear His voice across the darkness saying, “It is I; be not afraid.”

III. The last of the relations set forth in this great section is that between *Christ and His Church*. “He is the head of the body, the Church; who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead.”

A parallel is plainly intended to be drawn between Christ's relation to the material creation and to the Church, the spiritual creation. As is the Word of God before incarnation to the universe, so is the incarnate Christ to the Church. As in the former, He is prior in time and superior in dignity, so is He in the latter. As in the universe He is source and origin of all being, so in the Church He is the beginning, both as being first and as being origin of all spiritual life. As the glowing words which described His relation to creation began with the great title “the Firstborn,” so those which describe His relation to the Church close with the same name in a different application. Thus the two halves of His work are as it were moulded into a golden circle, and the end of the description bends round towards the beginning.

Briefly, then, we have here first, Christ the head, and the Church His body. In the lower realm the Eternal Word was the power which held all things together, and similar but higher in fashion is the relation between Him and the whole multitude of believing souls. Popular physiology regards the head as the seat of life. So the fundamental idea in the familiar metaphor when applied to our Lord is that of the source of the mysterious spiritual life which flows from Him into all the members, and is sight in the

eye, strength in the arm, swiftness in the foot, colour in the cheek, being richly various in its manifestations but one in its nature, and all His. The same mysterious derivation of life from Him is taught in His own metaphor of the Vine, in which every branch, however far away from the root, lives by the common life circulating through all, which clings in the tendrils, and reddens in the clusters, and is not theirs though it be in them.

That thought of the source of life leads necessarily to the other, that He is the centre of unity, by whom the "many members" become "one body," and the maze of branches one vine. The "head," too, naturally comes to be the symbol for authority—and these three ideas of seat of life, centre of unity, and emblem of absolute power appear to be those principally meant here.

Christ is further the *Beginning* to the Church. In the natural world He was before all, and source of all. The same double idea is contained in this name, "the Beginning." It does not merely mean the first member of a series who begins it, as the first link in a chain does, but it means the power which causes the series to begin. The root is the beginning of the flowers which blow in succession through the plant's flowering time, though you may call the first flower of the number the beginning too. But Christ is root; not merely the first flower, though He is that also.

He is head and beginning to His Church by means of His resurrection. He is the firstborn from the dead, and His communication of spiritual life to His Church requires the historical fact of His resurrection for its basis, for a dead Christ could not be the source of life; and that resurrection completes the manifestation of the incarnate Word, by our faith in which His spiritual life flows into our spirits. Unless He has risen from the dead, all His claims to be anything else than a wise teacher and fair character

crumble into nothing, and to think of Him as a source of life is impossible.

He is the beginning through His resurrection, too, in regard of His raising us from the dead. He is the first-fruits of them that slept, and bears the promise of a mighty harvest. He has risen from the dead, and therein we have not only the one demonstration for the world that there is a life after death, but the irrefragable assurance to the Church that because He lives it shall live also. A dead body and a living head cannot be. We are knit to Him too closely for the Fury "with the abhorred shears" to cut the thread. He has risen that He might be the firstborn among many brethren.

So the Apostle concludes that in all things He is first—and all things are that He *may* be first. Whether in nature or in grace, that pre-eminence is absolute and supreme. The end of all the majesty of creation and of all the wonders of grace is that His solitary figure may stand clearly out as centre and lord of the universe and His name be lifted high over all.

So the question of questions for us all is, What think ye of Christ? Our thoughts now have necessarily been turned to subjects which may have seemed abstract and remote—but these truths which we have been trying to make clear and to present in their connection, are not the mere terms or propositions of a half mystical theology far away from our daily life, but bear most gravely and directly on our deepest interests. I would fain press on every conscience the sharp-pointed appeal—What is this Christ to us? Is He *any* thing to us but a name? Does our heart leap up with a joyful Amen when we read these great words of this text? Are we ready to crown Him Lord of all? Is He our head, to fill us with vitality to inspire and to command? Is He the goal and the end of our individual life? Can we each say I live by Him, in Him, and for Him?

Happy are we, if we give to Christ the pre-eminence, and if our hearts set "Him first, Him last, Him midst and without end."

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

THE FAYÛM MANUSCRIPTS.

THE march of events is rapid in every direction. Politics, trade, science have experienced this tendency, and such too is the case in that quieter region of scholarship which deals with the discovery of ancient manuscripts. We have scarcely recovered from the excitement attending the great discoveries of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, when we hear rumours of fresh discoveries which may, in course of investigation, eclipse even these. The scene of the latest accessions to our knowledge is the Fayûm province, a district which, lying fifty or sixty miles to the south of Cairo, has been from the earliest ages celebrated for its fertility. Egyptian history, as reconstructed by Brugsch, tells us that more than two thousand years before Christ one of the Pharaohs established there the lake Moeris which, after eluding the search of many generations, has now been satisfactorily identified.¹ The construction of this lake was intended to prevent the waste of Nile water, by storing it up for future use. In any case it rendered the Fayûm province the garden of Egypt, and developed there a life of which the buried records have now come to light. We must however tell a preliminary story.

It is just one hundred years since a very intelligent Frenchman travelled through Egypt and Syria, leaving as the result a narrative which is of great importance as

¹ See *Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iv. p. 124, for identification of the site.

showing us these countries and their internal condition while yet Mahometanism retained somewhat of its pristine vigour. Volney's Travels contain many interesting facts, but are specially important for our present purpose as indicating the rise of that stream of manuscript discovery which has never since ceased in Egypt. From Volney's narrative we learn that in 1778 the Arabs found in a subterranean place near the site of the ancient Memphis, fifty volumes written in a language which they understood not. They were enclosed in a case of sycamore wood and were highly perfumed. The Arabs offered them for sale to a French merchant, but he refused to purchase them all. He fortunately however bought one, while the Arabs consumed the rest, cutting them up and using them instead of tobacco, for which they served as an admirable substitute on account of their pleasant odour. The manuscript which survived proved to be the most ancient Greek document then known. It is still a common notion among even good scholars that the great Biblical codices, the Alexandrian, the Vatican, and the Sinaitic, are the oldest Greek manuscripts, whether sacred or secular. This Egyptian document thus casually rescued from an untimely fate proved this to be a great mistake, and showed that we can scarcely dare to place limits upon our hopes and expectations in this direction. Cardinal Stephen Borgia, a munificent patron of literature, purchased it from the French merchant, and then entrusted it for publication to Nicolas Schow, a learned Dane, who printed it with an elaborate commentary, at Rome, in the year 1788.¹ Schow deciphered the document and found that it contained a second or third century list of the workmen employed upon the canals connecting the lake Moeris in the Fayûm with the Nile. As, however, this

¹ *Charta Papyracea Græce Scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris qua series incollarum Ptolemaidis Arsinoitices in aggeribus et fossis operantium exhibetur*, ed. a Nicolas Schow. Rom. 1788.

papyrus contained nothing illustrative either of Scripture or of Church history, the interest in it soon died away. During the Napoleonic invasion and occupation of Egypt, much interest was taken in Egyptology by French scholars, of which the great works of Champollion and Letronne are still the monuments. Yet though many other discoveries rewarded their exertions, they found no Greek manuscripts. It is not, indeed, every invading army which is so fortunate as our own expedition to Abyssinia, which brought back with it valuable copies of early Jewish and Christian writings, such as the Book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Book of Jubilees or the little Genesis of Jerome. Discoveries of all kinds, indeed, seem to come in rushes or cycles. Such a cycle of discovery was the age of Archbishop Ussher, when the Alexandrian MS. of the Bible, the works of Ignatius, of Clement, of Barnabas, of John Malalas, came almost at once to light. And then again, long periods elapse which are complete blanks as far as discoveries are concerned. Between 1815 and 1830, however, large numbers of Greek papyri were found, and scattered among the various museums and libraries of Europe—Vienna, Turin, Paris, London, Berlin. Since that time a few important Greek papyri have been here and there recovered, but no great collection of documents till within the last seven or eight years. In the year 1877 a large quantity of papyri were offered to the German Consul at Alexandria, who purchased them and sent them to Berlin, where they attracted considerable attention and raised high hopes of more important finds, as among them was found a fragment dating from the 4th century, at latest, of the Melanippe, a lost tragedy of Euripides.¹

¹ See the text of this fragment in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, Ed. Lepsius, where other fragments from Homer, Sappho, Aratus, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa are printed out of the Fayûm MSS. then known. The text of Gregory is given in full in the first part of *Philologus* for 1885, pp. 1-29. It treats of the life of Moses.

Brugsch, the great Egyptologist, made excavations in 1880 at Medinet, the capital of the Fayûm province, but without much success. Treasures like the Greek papyri often elude the most diligent searchers, and delight to bury themselves from such amid the thickest darkness. Brugsch discovered something indeed, but not much; his most important "find" being a leaf of parchment containing the first chapter of Second Thessalonians. Dr. Stern, too, under a commission from the Berlin Academy, undertook a fresh search and got some remains of the Hippolytus of Euripides and of Aristotle. A year or two afterwards, however, the greatest treasure of all was discovered. The Austrian Archduke Renier was travelling in Egypt, and purchased a vast quantity of papyri in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Coptic, as well as in the old Egyptian characters, Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic. It will suffice to show the vast quantity of these MSS. when we mention that the Coptic pieces alone are a thousand in number, including letters, legal documents, Biblical fragments in the Middle Egyptian and Sahidic dialects,¹ and a series of contracts which illustrate the modifications which Roman law experienced at the hands of Egyptian administrators. But then the Coptic papyri are only a small part of the collection which the Archduke brought home and deposited in the Imperial Museum at Vienna. The whole mass of documents has been submitted to the scrutiny of three scholars who have already given many proofs of their skill and knowledge in such work—Messrs. Wessely, Krall and Karabacek. They are all still engaged in the tedious and delicate operations involved in first unrolling and then deciphering the papyri, and have had but little time for that detailed and critical examination which alone will reveal their historical value. From time

¹ The Sahidic Version of the Bible so far as it exists has lately been published by O. V. Lemm, *Bruchstücke der Sahidischen Bibelübersetzung*, Leipzig, 1885.

to time, however, they have furnished reports, from which we learn enough to excite our highest expectations. Thus to Professor Wessely has been assigned the Greek and Latin documents. He is a very young man indeed, being only twenty-five years of age, yet he has already done much good work in the special department of literature to which he has devoted himself. He has published a learned treatise,¹ in which he offers chronological and historical disquisitions on Greek papyri from Fayûm previously known, and has followed it up by some able critical articles in the *Wiener Studien* on the same subject. He has indeed enjoyed exceptional advantages in this direction, as Viennese scholars have for some time specially devoted themselves to studies in this direction. A brief *resumé* of his work will show its importance.

Wessely has found then among the Fayûm papyri remnants of a polemic against Isocrates, dating from the fourth century B.C.; Homeric and Thucydidean fragments of the second century A.D., in very beautiful characters. The fragments of Thucydides are specially valuable as they offer a very different text of the eighth book of the celebrated history from that commonly known. The oldest extant MS. of Thucydides dates indeed only from the tenth or eleventh century, and the eighth book as therein given is very imperfect, so that Wessely's discovery throws a new and unexpected light on this important author. Unexpected indeed it is, as Dr. Arnold, in the preface to the second edition of his Thucydides, remarks, "With respect to the text of Thucydides little, I believe, will ever be done towards correcting it by the search after new manuscripts; the corruptions after all are not many, and it is doubtful whether those in the eighth book are not attributable to the imperfect state in

¹ Prolegomena ad Papyrorum Græcorum Novam Collectionem Edendam. Vienna, 1883.

which the text was left by Thucydides himself." *Æsthetic* and philosophical treatises dating from the second and third centuries of our era have also appeared, admitting us into the very heart and life of the great Alexandrian school when it was forming the minds and influencing the thoughts of a Clement and an Origen. For the Christian student and apologist, Wessely's discoveries have even a still greater interest. Fayûm was a district devoted to theology from the earliest times. In the third century Dionysius of Alexandria, according to the report of Eusebius (*H. E.*, vii. 24), had much trouble there with a bishop who anticipated many of the speculations of the late Dr. Cumming and his school of expositors. In such a district theological works must have abounded. Some of the latest reports therefore announce the discovery of a papyrus roll containing a Gospel of St. Matthew in Greek dating from the third century—a Greek text, which must in that case take precedence in point of time of all others; a *Metanoia* of the fourth century; large fragments of the Old and New Testament on papyrus and parchment; considerable portions of St. Cyril's works; a collection of edicts and other state documents, the earliest dated under Domitian about the year 90 A.D., and then going on almost without a break through all the Pagan and Christian Emperors down to the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens in the seventh century. Among these are documents of Marcus Aurelius, Alexander Severus, Gordian, and Philip the Arabian. The new side lights for Church history to be gained from these papyri may be estimated from one fact alone. The first Emperor of barbarian birth who ascended the imperial throne was Maximinus I. He was very hostile to the Christians, as having enjoyed the favour of his predecessor, Alexander Severus, whom Maximinus dethroned. During his reign Origen had to flee from Alexandria and seek shelter in Asia Minor, whence he addressed a work

on Martyrdom to some of the clergy of Alexandria. Now the precise date of this Emperor's accession has hitherto been a disputed point; one of these papyri has, however, cleared up the difficulty, and shown us that he began to reign in the end of March, A.D. 235. The Latin papyri, which have also been entrusted to Wessely, are not at all so numerous as the Greek, yet even among them we have two of the oldest dated Latin documents in existence, the receipts given by an actuary, Sergius, in the year 398 A.D., as well as a formal permit to some soldiers of the Fifth Legion, to assist at the celebration of the Easter Festival at Arsinoë. We can scarcely hope to estimate properly the critical and historical value of those discoveries till they have been printed. The trouble involved in dealing with them is enormous, as the papyri have first to be unrolled with great care, then deciphered, which is often a work of the greatest difficulty owing to the imperfect condition of the Manuscripts, and then pressed and placed under sheets of glass for permanent preservation. The Greek and Latin documents form, however, a comparatively small portion of the mass of material recovered by the Archduke Renier. The Oriental documents in Persian, Ethiopic, Hebrew and Arabic, have been confided to Professor Karabacek. Among these the Ethiopic papyri number two hundred, the Hebrew in square characters twenty-four, and the Arabic papyri literally some thousands. We ask special attention to this fact. Previous to this latest discovery, Arabic papyri were only two or three in number. So late as 1879, Gardthausen, in his great work on Greek Palæography, p. 33, tells us that he knew of only two or at most three, one of them being a passport granted to an Egyptian peasant, dating from 750 A.D. Gardthausen, indeed, thought the Arabs did not use papyri for writing; but in history *à priori* considerations carry little weight. One solitary fact upsets a cart-load of theories. Now just

the reverse of Gardthausen's idea is found to have been the case, and Arabic papyri are perhaps the most numerous of all, extending back to the earliest days of Arab rule in the valley of the Nile. Among them are two of the oldest Mahometan documents now known, one of them dating from the year 30 of the Hegira, corresponding to 652 A.D. Much new light on the origines of Mahometanism and the relations between Islam and Christianity in the first days of Mahometan triumph may be expected from these sources. Professor Krall has taken in hand the purely Egyptian pieces, embracing those in the Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic and Coptic characters. Among them has been found a letter in Hieratic which is quite three thousand years old. The Coptic papyri are indeed some of the most important for the Christian student. From the Copts we have gained some of our most valuable discoveries concerning the history, life and customs of the early Church. One hundred years ago the Coptic documents preserved in Cardinal Borgia's library yielded to a learned monk of that time an original account of the great Diocletian persecution as conducted in Egypt, tallying in the most accurate manner with the scenes depicted by Eusebius as witnessed by himself. This valuable narrative, now almost forgotten, lies buried in a work by Aug.-Ant. Georgius, enjoying the very uninviting title, "*De Miraculis S. Coluthi et Reliquiis Actorum S. Panesniu Martyrum Thebaica fragmenta duo.*" From the Coptic manuscripts Revillout has within the past few years depicted the wondrous life and history of Senuti, a Christian Mahdi of the fifth century, has traced the repeated invasions of the Blemmyes, the deadly enemies of Roman power and of Christian progress down to the period of the Saracens, and has recovered, and published in the *Revue Egyptologique*, an original narrative of the proceedings and actions of the Fourth General Council, as depicted by the Patriarch Dioscorus from the unorthodox or Mono-

physite point of view ; an aspect of ancient Church life we seldom see, as the triumphant party generally took right good care to destroy all the books and arguments of their vanquished opponents. Church history, indeed, must be largely re-written, or at least will be more vividly depicted and drawn with fuller and more life-like details, in virtue of those new discoveries.

Now let us give one or two examples of the illustrations of Scripture and of Church history which may be derived from these Fayûm MSS. It will be remembered that the Archduke's find is not the only one made in that province. From time to time during the last ten years large quantities of documents have come to light in that same region, and been brought to Europe, chiefly to Vienna and Berlin. Thus before the latest Viennese documents were purchased, Wessely published in the *Wiener Studien* for 1882 three Fayûm manuscripts already possessed by Vienna, which throw considerable light on Scripture and the early Church. The first is a letter or order addressed to a certain Zeno concerning the taxation of the country and the produce of the imperial estates. It is specially important because it dates from about the year 8 or 10 of our era, and shows conclusively that the Romans preserved intact the organization, social and fiscal, of the Ptolemies, as the Ptolemies in turn preserved the system of the Pharaohs—so that if we can form an accurate conception of the Roman system in Egypt we shall have a picture of the life and times of Moses and of Joseph. Wessely also published in the same review some fragments of St. Luke's Gospel. Large quantities of Greek papyri had been previously deciphered, but they were almost entirely secular in their subjects. The only Biblical ones were the London Papyrus Psalter, published by the Palæographical Society in their magnificent plates and by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta Inedita*, and some fragments of St. Paul's Epistles. Wessely now pub-

lished a papyrus with two passages—St. Luke vii. 36–44 and x. 38–42—containing the stories of the Pharisee and the Magdalene, and of Mary and Martha, with the Divine commendation of Mary. This he showed to be the earliest known Evangelistarium or Gospel for liturgical use by the people, dating as it does from about the year 500, the oldest hitherto known only coming from about the year 700. The text found therein is in closest affinity with the great Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts, and proves that the Vulgate of the Græco-Egyptian Church of that period was in substantial agreement with them. He then devotes a long notice to a sixth century manuscript of a Septuagint text. It is written on parchment not on papyrus, and offers a very good text of the well-known 27th Psalm, “The Lord is my light and my salvation.” Revillout again, no later than last year, showed in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, what interesting illustrations and vivid details of early Christian life and struggles we may gain from this source. In the first number of the year he printed a Coptic manuscript, setting forth the curses of a pagan mother upon her apostate son, who had joined the Christian ranks. Here we have an original document coming from early Christian times, for doubtless no one would ever have copied anathemas which must have been devoid of meaning or interest for any person but the mother who thus solemnly and sadly cast her son off from her hopes in this world or the next. The document is most interesting and important, not only as illustrating that family separation and loss of all earthly ties which Christ so often warned His people to expect, but also because of the light it throws upon Christian and Egyptian worship. The religion of the ancient Egyptians about the second and third centuries is a somewhat obscure subject. It largely influenced Western paganism, yet we have not that intimate knowledge of it which we possess

concerning the religion of Greece and Rome.¹ In these anathemas we see their doctrine of Apotheosis. The woman's husband is dead, and she appeals to his manes as against the apostate, but she appeals to him as one elevated to a divine state—her husband has now become a new Osiris. The commemorations of the dead, the sacred feasts, the burial places round which the whole family life centred, their doctrines and ideas about future punishments which have been largely adopted by the Christian Copts, are all there depicted. As to Christianity, we have the new name adopted by the convert at baptism, and that a name closely connected with the Church of St. Mark. His name was originally Petuosor, signifying gift of Osiris. He changed it to the apostolic name of Peter, which, as we learn from Dionysius of Alexandria, was in the third century a most popular one in Egypt (Euseb., *H. E.*, vii. 25). From the same writer indeed we learn that this very custom of changing names derived from idols into distinctively Christian ones was common in Egypt during the ages of persecution (Euseb., *Mart. Palest.*, c. xi.). This

¹ An interesting work on Egyptian religion has lately been published at Paris. Its title is, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, Serapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis, hors d'Égypte, depuis les origines jusqu'à la naissance de l'école néoplatonicienne* : par G. Lafaye. He shows the influence this cult exercised upon Rome during the earlier Christian ages, and also some ideas and doctrines by which it prepared the way for Christianity. He describes its daily morning and evening service. It taught the doctrine of the death and resurrection of Osiris, which seems to have been an imitation of the Christian doctrine of the Passion and Resurrection, just as Tertullian maintains the Mithraic baptism and communion to have been diabolical travesties of the Christian rites. The death and resurrection of Osiris embraced three days from Nov. 12-14. This work also shows the weakness of the Egyptian religion, and explains its failure to satisfy the wants of humanity as Christianity has done. As a matter of fact it expended all its strength in magic and astrology, the remains of which are now coming to light as I show below. The Egyptian magicians often stirred up terrific persecution against Christianity, as in the well-known case of Macrianus mentioned by Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 10. In the last number of the *Zeitsch. für Ägyptische Sprache*, p. 186, there is an interesting paper on the Egyptian religion of Cent. iii. derived from the Greek Fayûm MSS. It points out that the Pharaohs were even then still worshipped as gods in the Nile valley.

convert imitated Peter's rash zeal too. He had joined the clergy, and to show his devotion had mocked the pagan rites and uttered threats of violence against the temples. It is in every respect a very instructive memorial of the terrible sacrifices, the family bitterness, the social divisions which must have often followed upon a profession of faith in Christ.

The Magical or Gnostic papyri again are very numerous. It was one of the favourite arguments of the Tübingen School against the Pastoral Epistles, that they involved the existence of Gnosticism in a highly developed shape. They held that Gnosticism was a corruption of Christianity, and therefore must have been long posterior to it. Now these documents show that Oriental philosophy could just as easily combine with Judaism as with Christianity, and must therefore have been in existence long before Christianity was heard of. The inner life and spirit of the Gnostic systems have been little investigated by Western thinkers, who have been alienated by the hard names and the perplexing unsympathetic representations given by ecclesiastical historians. But yet systems which entranced a Tatian and a Valentinus, and engaged the powers of a Clement, an Irenæus and an Origen, cannot have been jargon and nonsense. We must view the Gnostic systems from the Oriental side, and then we shall see why the Church strove against them with all its might as aimed at its very life and heart. Magical and Gnostic papyri already exist at London, Leyden, and Paris in considerable numbers, and have been used by Revillout to illustrate the life of Secundus, a Gnostic teacher of the second century. It may, however, be hoped that the Fayûm Manuscripts will throw some new light on a topic which is renewing its interest for us when esoteric Buddhism and its adherents are producing, all unawares doubtless, as the latest products of modern thought, the wildest conceits of Asiatic

and Egyptian Gnosticism. Space would, however, fail to tell of the varied information these papyri give us. They deal with every conceivable subject. In the *Revue Egyptologique* of 1883, for instance, appeared a papyrus from Vienna, which would be of interest to many a special correspondent of to-day, setting forth an artist's life in Egypt with all his crosses and troubles in the first or second century; while the papyri which deal with the Nile and its inundations and constructions are simply endless. The question may naturally be asked, How have these papyri, and parchments, been preserved? The reply is very simple. Even in our damp climate there exist many documents twelve and thirteen hundred years old. The traveller can see in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Museum of the Irish Academy, sacred manuscripts which are quite as old as many of the Egyptian, dating from the age of St. Columba, if not from that of St. Patrick. In the case of Egypt, however, quantities of the papyri are more than twice as old. They have been preserved in tombs, or may be portions of official libraries buried at some crisis, in the sand; sometimes in vases of earthenware, sometimes, as those Greek papyri which the Arabs destroyed, in cases of sycamore wood; offering, indeed, an interesting corroboration from Egyptian practice of the Jewish custom mentioned in Jeremiah xxxii. 14, where the prophet charges Baruch: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: Take these evidences, this evidence of the purchase, and put them in an earthen vessel, that they may continue many days."

The student wishing to pursue this subject will find abundant material in the German and French periodicals mentioned in this article. The *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, founded by Brugsch, edited till his death by Lepsius, and now continued by Stern, has articles in almost every number about the Egyptian papyri.

The very last, published in February of this year, gives two Coptic documents containing perhaps the oldest existing Christian wills. They were found at Thebes and date from Cent. vii. They illustrate the Church organization of that day. *Philologus*, vol. xliii., the *Revue Archéologique* for 1884, vol. ii. p. 101, and the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, vol. xxxiii. may also be profitably consulted.

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"NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

A DEFENCE.

SECOND PAPER.

III. THE most important law which Mr. Drummond brings forward in illustration of his general principle is what he calls the Law of Biogenesis—that life can only come from life: *omne vivum ex vivo*. In Science this doctrine is according to Huxley "victorious along the whole line" in opposition to the theory of Spontaneous Generation; or, to use Mr. Drummond's impressive language, "the passage from the mineral world to the plant or animal world is hermetically sealed on the mineral side; only by the bending down into this dead world of some living form can the dead atoms be gifted with the properties of vitality; without this preliminary contact with Life they remain fixed in the inorganic sphere for ever." In precisely the same way, he holds, the natural man is dead to spiritual things, and can only be made alive by the condescending touch of Him who said, "I am the life."

"The passage from the Natural World to the Spiritual World is hermetically sealed on the natural side. No organic change, no modification of environment, no mental energy, no moral effort, no evolution of character, no progress of civilisation can endow any single human

soul with the attribute of Spiritual Life. The spiritual world is guarded from the world next in order beneath it by a law of biogenesis — *except a man be born again . . . except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.*"

He was quite aware that in taking up this position he was likely to incur opposition and ridicule. For much more than two hundred years, he says, there has been raging a controversy in the religious world on this subject:—

"Taking its stand upon the initial statement of the Author of the Spiritual Life, one small school, in the face of derision and opposition, has persistently maintained the doctrine of Biogenesis. Another, larger, and with greater pretension to philosophic form, has defended Spontaneous Generation. . . . A thousand modern pulpits every seventh day are preaching the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation: and much of the most serious and cultured writing of the day devotes itself to earnest preaching of this impossible doctrine."

He has not failed to meet with opposition in these quarters or in others where it might have been less expected. Some of the opponents have been too impatient to be fair, and have failed to give a correct statement of his position. He has often been represented as maintaining that the natural man is as remote from the life spiritual as a stone.¹ No doubt he has stated his position

¹ Since the above was written, it has been illustrated almost *ad absurdum* in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for March, by Mr. R. A. Watson. According to this reviewer, Mr. Drummond teaches that "man is a mineral"; that "to the carnal man, God, in the most literal sense, is not"; that "each individual is as dead as a stone"; that "the natural man has no soul"; that he is "as incapable of righteousness as a flint." What a bold, bad man Mr. Drummond must be! Having set up this hideous scarecrow, Mr. Watson throws himself upon it and tears it limb from limb with noble rage.

The whole tone of Mr. Watson's review is a curious illustration of the suggestion made in the beginning of this article, that a certain amount of popular success acts on some critics like a red flag, betraying them unawares into an asperity which is scarcely distinguishable from personal animosity. Take a single instance. "The Free Church," says Mr. Watson, "in a hurry of rapture for what it seems to regard as a new revelation, has made the prophet a professor." The facts are these: Mr. Drummond was Lecturer on Natural Science in Glasgow Free Church College for years before his book appeared; a generous friend of the College offered to confer on the chair a handsome en-

very strongly, but he has never made any such wild assertion. What he has said is that the natural man is

dowment, provided it were raised to professorial rank; this also took place before the publication of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World"; there was strong opposition in the General Assembly to the acceptance of this offer, though Mr. Drummond's book had come out in the meantime, and it was well known that, if the professorship should be constituted, he would receive the appointment; no doubt his reputation helped to overcome the opposition, and, when the chair was raised to the professional status, its occupant was raised in it. This commonplace procedure is transmuted in Mr. Watson's fancy into a hurry of rapture to make the prophet a professor. This is the level of accuracy on which the article commences, and it keeps on it throughout.

But Mr. Drummond is scarcely the fool that anyone would be who taught such nonsense. The natural man, according to his teaching, has a soul, he has an intellect furnished with intelligence, he has a moral nature with solemn responsibilities, he has a certain knowledge of God and susceptibility to His influence. Only there belongs to his nature a possibility of rising, through the grace of Christ, to a knowledge and enjoyment of God so peculiar that to attain it is to pass from death unto life; and the heaviest responsibility of his life is the choice whether this possibility shall be realised or not. Strange to say, however, those in whom it is realised, have always insisted on attributing their happy state not to their own choice, but to the sovereign grace of God; and Calvinism is merely the scientific equivalent of this pious conviction. Mr. Drummond has not indeed cleared up the mystery which hangs over the co-existence of man's responsibility and God's grace; but, as the greatest minds of eighteen Christian centuries have confessed their inability to explain it, perhaps he ought not to be severely blamed.

Mr. Watson has made one valuable criticism. Speaking of Biogenesis, he has pointed out that, if the process in the spiritual world corresponded in all respects with that in the natural world, the spiritual man would be able to communicate spiritual life to natural men. But, instead of calmly investigating how far this affects Mr. Drummond's theory, he is so eager in the work of destruction, that he loses the thread in a moment, and goes off into error after error. "Biogenesis and reproduction are one," he says. Are they? He has merely the form of the word to support him; scientific usage is completely against him; in spite of its positive structure, "biogenesis" is in the universal language of science a purely negative idea; it does not mean that living organisms have the power of reproduction, but only that no living organism is produced without antecedent life. Again, he says that, according to Mr. Drummond, "the Spirit of God lifts the dead matter of the natural man into spiritual life. Now this may be quite true, but it is not biogenesis; on the contrary, it is creationism." Mr. Watson makes it appear to be creationism by omitting an essential moment in the process, on which Mr. Drummond constantly insists—the union of the soul, in its new birth, with Christ. The Son of God became man to be the Head of a new humanity, and those who enter His kingdom are made partakers of His life. This is the antecedent life, of the same kind, from which the life of the regenerate is derived. They are, indeed, new-created, but a creation which takes place in this way is something very different from what is meant in science by "creationism."

as remote from the life spiritual as a stone is from the life natural. This is a very different statement. Of course by a stone he means inorganic matter in any form. But inorganic matter is by no means destitute of susceptibilities and affinities for the life natural. When the seed is cast into the spring furrow, the winnowed earth is waiting to be caught up into contact with the living organism. When a biologist has the component elements of protoplasm arranged beneath the lens of his microscope, they seem so near to the verge of life that he feels as if the slightest touch might make them start from death to life, and looks down at their continued deadness with the same wondering impatience with which a Christian minister may sometimes watch a man who is on the very threshold of the spiritual kingdom but fails to enter it.

Mr. Drummond has no need, therefore, to ignore any of the susceptibilities or affinities of the natural man for spiritual influence. In fact he has described them with unrivalled truth and pathos :

"The protoplasm in man has a something in addition to its instincts or its habits. It has a capacity for God. In this capacity for God lies its receptivity; it is the very protoplasm that was necessary. The chamber is not only ready to receive the new life, but the Guest is expected, and, till He comes, is missed. Till then the soul longs and yearns, wastes and pines, waving its tentacles piteously in the empty air, feeling after God, if so be that it may find Him. It is now agreed as a mere question of anthropology that the universal language of the human soul has always been, 'I perish with hunger.' This is what fits it for Christ. There is a grandeur in this cry from the depths which makes its very unhappiness sublime."

It may be argued that these susceptibilities to Divine impressions, and the responsibility for exercising them which their existence involves, are inconsistent with the absolute sovereignty in regeneration which Mr. Drummond's theory ascribes to God. But this objection tells not only against Mr. Drummond's theology, but against all theology ;

for there are a score of points at which theology has to confess its inability to reconcile its own statements as to the Divine efficiency on the one hand and human responsibility on the other. In the passage of the soul from the life natural to the life spiritual there is a double process; at all events to our thinking it presents two sides. There is the work of God, which is called Regeneration, and there is the experience of man, which is called Conversion. It has always been difficult to do justice at the same time to both of these sides of the same thing. When the act of God is described, it seems to make the different stages of the human experience unnecessary; and when the process in the soul is described, it is impossible to say precisely where the Divine act comes in. This is not a difficulty which is peculiar to any school of theology; it is only a phase of the larger difficulty of reconciling the exercise of the Divine will with the freedom of the human will. The charges of fatalism and of destroying human responsibility which have been brought against Mr. Drummond are merely the stock arguments made against every form of theology which recognises a real Divine intervention at any stage of salvation.¹

¹ Mr. Drummond's ignoring of Baptismal Regeneration has been adverted to by Mr. J. J. Murphy in the review already quoted, and is of course an error in the eyes of the very able critic who has reviewed the book in the *Church Quarterly Review*. Mr. Murphy seems to think that Mr. Drummond's views are adverse to the hopes of those who die in infancy. But one of the many objections of Calvinists to the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is the view it seems to compel its adherents to take of the fate of the great majority of this class—the unbaptized. Mr. Murphy uses "regeneration" and "conversion" as synonymous terms; but they ought to be carefully distinguished; and the more regeneration, rather than conversion, is dwelt upon as the one thing needful, the more easy is it to maintain a rational faith in the salvation of all who die in infancy; for regeneration is an act of the Divine efficiency, which is always available, whereas conversion is the work of human efficiency, which does not seem to be available in the case of infants. It may be remarked in passing, that the salvation of all who die in infancy is an article of the faith of the most representative Calvinists at the present day.

To trained theologians, acquainted with the history of thought, there ought to be no difficulty in determining what is the precise question at issue here, or what are the possible alternatives; for the subject has been clarified by innumerable controversies between opposing schools of thought. The question is not whether the spiritual has its basis in the natural; for in the chapter on Conformity to Type—one of the best in the volume, though it has been little noticed—Mr. Drummond has explained with the utmost clearness how the natural powers reappear in the higher sphere as the organs of the spiritual life; and in this sense all men may be said to have a natural capacity for the higher life. Nor is the question whether the natural man is susceptible of impressions from the spiritual region. But it is, whether in the natural man there is the germ or potency of spiritual life, requiring only favourable conditions and the influence of God's ordinary providence in the means of grace to develop it into actuality; or whether in every case of regeneration there is an original intervention of God to give the soul a deadlift over a chasm which it has not in itself the power to surmount. In maintaining the latter of these alternatives, Mr. Drummond has behind him the whole weight of theological testimony, Augustinian, Reformation, Puritan, and Evangelical, for this has been the cardinal doctrine of every one of these systems.

It is the doctrine of the Bible, which with almost endless iteration speaks of the natural man as dead, and of the change to the life of the spirit as a new birth, a new creation, a passing from death unto life. It may be said that these are metaphors. But the Bible is not a book which uses extreme language to describe moderate experiences; its spiritual facts are not less but more real than their natural symbols; and when it thus piles up the strongest metaphors expressive of change, the most probable infer-

ence is that the change is greater, and not less, than any of the changes from which the figurative language is borrowed. It would have been easy to use metaphors of a different kind. Those who believe that regeneration is not a change of this radical nature are wont to describe it as the germination of a latent seed which only requires to be loosened from its integuments in order to grow freely, or the unveiling of the consciousness of Christ or Divine humanity, which is concealed in the natural man like the sun in a mist. But the current comparisons of Scripture are in marked contrast to these; and the reason of this is because they are employed to express a different conception of the subject.

No new influence of the present day is more powerful in theology than the young science of Biblical Theology, whose work is to give a severely objective rendering of the views of the several leading writers of Scripture. It is lending a marvellous support to the Augustinian and Puritan construction of Christianity; for it is showing that, whether this construction be true or not, it is at least that which belonged to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John. As you read one of the handbooks of this science, you seem to be perusing the pages of some Puritan divine. And at no point is it more confirmatory of the Evangelical scheme than in reference to regeneration. Weiss, for instance, perhaps the best exponent of the science, holds that Paul makes "the spirit," that is, the element of the human constitution in which the spiritual life resides, to belong only to the regenerate—a mode of expressing the change more extreme than that of any modern exponents of Evangelicalism, who all make regeneration a change in the already existing elements of human nature. Even if this be incorrect, it is in the general line of St. Paul's statements on this subject. This is the alleged doctrine of St. Paul; and St. John is on this point, if possible, even

more decisive: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

But Mr. Drummond has not merely repeated the doctrine of a school, though he has frankly taken his place in that "small school which, in the face of derision and opposition, has persistently maintained the doctrine of Biogenesis." He has lent the doctrine a new credential; for, starting with this doctrine of Biogenesis, he has thought out the whole of Christian experience on this line, and then, laying this alongside of the revelation of truth made in science, has shown the two to be in remarkable accord. In the first place, it is true, his argument is directed to those who are in doubt of Divine revelation altogether, but indirectly it tells with almost equal force against a construction of the contents of Christianity which starts with minimising the significance of regeneration.

IV. Strong exception has been taken to the omission of certain prominent doctrines of revelation from the list of those to which Mr. Drummond has furnished from science a new demonstration. It has been specially charged against him that, whilst dwelling largely on Regeneration, he has passed over the Atonement.

To this it might be enough to reply, that in so small a book it was impossible to mention everything, and the author does not pretend to give more than a few specimens of his method. But there is a much more effective answer. Little note has been taken of Mr. Drummond's statement, repeated again and again in every part of the volume, that his method applies only to a portion of theology, and not to the whole of it. Which portion this is cannot be doubtful to any careful reader. It is that which belongs to the experience of the individual and lies under human observation. The remoter elements of theology, such, for example, as the relations to one another of the persons of the Trinity,

or the connection of the Divine and human natures in the person of our Lord, lie entirely beyond the field of demonstration of this new apologetic, and must be investigated in the ampler field of Scripture. Now the Atonement is a doctrine which belongs to this remoter region, and cannot be illustrated by the new method; the grounds and conditions on which God will pardon sin are not elements of human experience, but lie in the recesses of the Divine mind, and must be made known in revelation.

This is a distinction which was drawn by our Lord Himself in connection with these two doctrines of Regeneration and the Atonement. After speaking to Nicodemus about the former doctrine, He said to him, "If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things." And then He proceeded to mention the Atonement as one of "the heavenly things": "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." He classed Regeneration among "earthly things," because it is a portion of human experience and is accessible to human observation; but he indicated that Christianity had also its "heavenly things," which are more difficult of belief, because they are inaccessible to human investigation. Dr. Chalmers, who himself suffered not a little from critics whose "fondness for the orthodoxy of what relates to a sinner's acceptance, carried to such a degree of favouritism as to withdraw attention from what relates to a sinner's sanctification, diffused," as he said, "a mist over the whole field of revelation," remarked of these two very doctrines: "The doctrine of our acceptance, by faith in the merits and propitiation of Christ, is worthy of many a treatise, and many are the precious treatises upon it which have been offered to the world; but the doctrine of regeneration, by the Spirit of Christ, equally demands the homage of a separate lucubration—which may proceed on

the truth of the former, and by the incidental recognition of it, when it comes naturally in the way of the author's attention, marks the soundness and settlement of his mind thereupon, more decisively than by the dogmatic and ostentatious and often misplaced asseverations of an ultra orthodoxy."¹

If it has not come naturally in Mr. Drummond's way, for the reason already given, to make such a recognition of the Atonement as Chalmers recommended, he has certainly given no occasion to the jealousy of orthodoxy to pry into the extent of his creed. His work is honourably distinguished among apologetic writings by the amount of vital Christian doctrine which it contains. Many of the most noted apologetic works have conducted the inquirer only to the boundary of Christian doctrine, and left him there. The conception of religion they have given has been so cold and unspiritual, that they have conferred a very limited and doubtful good even on those whom they have been able to convince. But the conception of Christianity set forth by Mr. Drummond is full of spirituality and heart, and he does not desert the inquirer till he has placed him in the very midst of the most impressive experiences of religion.

V. This book has been accused of teaching doctrines which it does not teach.

(1) The charge of teaching the eternity of matter has been made on the strength of these words on p. 297: "*Ex nihilo nihil*—nothing can be made out of nothing; matter is uncreatable and indestructible; Nature and man can only form and transform." Although this supposed heresy is dilated upon by the pamphleteers with a great profusion of indignant capital letters, we should not have alluded to it if their charge had not been repeated by Canon Hoare in the *Churchman*. Of course what Mr. Drummond is

¹ Introductory Essay to *À Kempis' Imitation of Christ*.

referring to is the fact that in the processes of nature going on at present there is no creation of matter. This is evident from the whole context, and is made perfectly clear by the very next sentence which follows the above extract: "Hence, when a new animal is made, no new clay is made." In no portion of his book has the author given the slightest indication of any leaning to this Platonic heresy.

(2) Canon Hoare, whilst appreciating the value of the book, thinks it pregnant with danger because it teaches Evolution and its author is an Evolutionist. This warning has been echoed in many quarters.

But when any one is branded as an Evolutionist, it is desirable to make sure what the name means. Evolution has at least four meanings. There is an evolution, in which all believe, of the germs of life through the various stages of growth to the fulness of the stature of the perfect plant or animal. Secondly, no school of theology has discovered danger in allowing that there may, by natural selection or otherwise, be a differentiation of varieties within the various species of plants and animals; and this also is evolution. Thirdly, the origin of species is ascribed to evolution; this is irreconcilable with a literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, but is considered a harmless doctrine by many theologians who do not interpret this chapter literally. Fourthly, if Evolutionist is used as a name of theological reproach, it ought only to be applied to those who hold that there has been an uninterrupted progress—without the intervention of the creative Hand—from matter up to the highest forms of life. In this sense Mr. Drummond is of course not an Evolutionist; for the burden of his book is that both the organic and the spiritual worlds are hermetically sealed underneath. Nor does his book prove him to be an Evolutionist even in the third sense; for, numerous and bold as his illustrations of evolution are, the cases to which he commits himself will

be found to be only variations within species. He uses very freely the language of evolutionary literature, and may perhaps make use of the doctrine of Evolution as a working hypothesis; but he has not given ground for accusing him of more than this. At the crucial points his language is carefully guarded:—

"If among the recent revelations of Nature," he says, "there is one thing more significant for religion than another, it is the majestic spectacle of the rise of kingdoms towards scarcer yet nobler forms, and simpler yet Diviner ends. Of the early stage, the first development of the earth from the nebulous matrix of space, Science speaks with reserve. The second, the evolution of each individual from the simple protoplasmic cell to the formed adult, is proved. The still wider evolution not of solitary individuals, but of all the individuals within each province—in the vegetal world from the unicellular cryptogam to the highest phanerogam, in the animal world from the amorphous amoeba to Man—is at least suspected, the gradual rise of types being, at all events, a fact."

This is the most deliberate statement on the subject in the book, and the utmost he says of the evolutionary theory of the origin of species is that it is "at least suspected." When he calls the Evolution Theory elsewhere "the greatest of modern scientific doctrines," this is only a statement of the notorious fact that Evolution is the working hypothesis with which science is at present doing its work.

(3) Mr. Drummond has been very freely charged with teaching, by implication, the doctrine of Conditional Immortality. In his chapter on *Eternal Life*, which does not appear to us one of the clearest or most convincing in the book, he has given a new demonstration of immortality. Making skilful use of a definition proceeding from Mr. Herbert Spencer of the conditions under which the natural life might be everlasting, he shows that these conditions are fulfilled by the spiritual life of the regenerate. Stated briefly, the argument is, that the life spiritual must be

eternal because the regenerate man is in a union which cannot be interrupted with the Eternal God.

But, it has been inferred, as the unregenerate will not fulfil these conditions of eternal life, they cannot exist throughout eternity. As well might it be argued that they cannot exist at present, because they are destitute of spiritual life. They exist at present, though in Mr. Drummond's sense they do not live; and in Mr. Drummond's argument there is no reason why they may not exist through all eternity, though of course they will not live then any more than they do now. There may be very good reasons, either in the will of God or the nature of the soul, why all human beings who begin to exist should exist for ever. With this Mr. Drummond's doctrine of eternal life has nothing to do, and therefore he has passed it by.

Whether this book is or not a *κτῆμα εἰς αἰεί*, destined to take its place among the great apologetic works which are the permanent instructors of mankind, the present writer will not undertake to say. Prophecy about the fate of books is as hazardous as prophecy about the destinies of men.

Meantime, however, Providence has surely assigned it a responsible enough mission. Hundreds of the religious teachers of Britain and America have gained from it fresh forms in which to present vital truth, and some have received from it a mental bent towards studies which will permanently enrich their ministry. It has helped to deliver multitudes who have not the opportunity of studying either science or theology deeply, from the vague doubt that science has discredited all religion, which is one of the worst dangers of this age. And surely its primary object of convincing students of science that, in passing from their ordinary fields of investigation into the field of religious

experience, they are not leaving a scene of order, law, and beauty for one of hopelessness and chaos, but, on the contrary, are about to see the same reign of law in a higher order of things, cannot remain altogether unfulfilled.¹ Marvellous it is how Christianity always at length absorbs into itself the fruits of human progress. One by one it encounters in its course the births of time—systems of philosophy, social doctrines, political revolutions. At the first meeting it often eyes them with suspicion, and they return its hostility. There may be lengthened conflict; but, if the new phenomenon be a genuine product of nature, Christianity always at length finds out its worth, and, bending round it and absorbing all that is good in it, passes on, leaving the controversies and falsehoods which have beset the stage of discussion like shreds of wreckage on the margin of its course. Undoubtedly science is the great new birth of time in our day. There have been suspicion and conflict enough between it and Christianity. But the end will be as before. Christianity will absorb this new truth and enrich itself with new demonstrations and illustrations derived from it. And science, too, will reach its own

¹ The critic in the *Cambridge Review* already mentioned, speaks as if men of science had passed Mr. Drummond's work by without notice. This, however, is a mere haphazard assertion. We refer him, for example, to *Knowledge* of September 26th, 1884, if he wishes to be convinced of his mistake. "Amid the mass of declamation, abuse, frothy rhetoric, perversion of science, distortion of Scripture, ascription of moral obliquity to opponents, and assumption of infallibility on the part of the disputants, which has recently," says this scientific periodical, "been rained upon us in the shape of (so-called) 'Reconciliations,' it is perfectly delightful to turn to the calm, judicial, scholarly, and pre-eminently tolerant work of Professor Drummond now before us. . . . His obviously great personal familiarity with biological science enables him to derive some of the most telling illustrations from the more recondite phenomena of the development of life; and there is something admirable in the ability with which he shows the absolute parallelism of the laws regulating that development with the fundamental principles of Christianity. . . . That the book will make numerous converts from the ranks of a mere stupid atheism it would be too much to expect. That, however, it will remove some of the doubts, and strengthen and comfort thousands of religious men whose faith has been sorely strained by honest philosophical misgivings, it seems impossible to question."

true destiny and its highest honour when, like a gem in the finest setting, it hangs as a resplendent jewel on the fair form of Christianity.

EXEGETICAL NOTES FROM SERMONS.¹

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE BODY.

Phil. iii. 20, 21.—The verb “to transfigure” means “to change the figure” or “fashion,” as to transform means “to change the form” or proper shape. This distinction, too subtle to be always observed, rather applies in usage to the simple nouns “Form” and “Figure,” “Form” denoting the permanent and visible outline of shape which may characterize this or that being and implying that under that exterior lurks a corresponding invisible nature—whereas Figure or Fashion indicates something changeable, shifting, impalpable, accidental, which may be assumed or discarded, such as demeanour, appearance, expression, behaviour, air.

Hence the Greek Fathers in proof of Christ’s divinity used to quote that famous text from this epistle, “Who being in the form of God thought it not a grasp, or *catch*, to be equal to God,” arguing that he who had God’s proper form had God’s proper nature. And it is not improbable that St. Paul with special design uses the term “transfigure” here, his thoughts recurring to that memorable scene in our Lord’s life, I mean the Transfiguration. That bright exception of glory to the dreary uniformity of His humiliation was probably a fact familiar to the Apostle’s mind. The evangelists, it is true, in their account of that miracle use the expression “He was transformed before them,” but their description of it is better repre-

¹ Canon Evans has kindly allowed the Editor to select various exegetical notes from his sermons preached in Durham Cathedral.

sented by the term which the Church has applied to it and which St. Paul here employs. For according to the narrative in the three Gospels the alteration consisted not in a change of form or of feature or of raiment, but in a change of fashion or appearance. We read, "the fashion of His countenance was altered." "His face did shine as the sun." Again, "His raiment became dazzling white, white as snow, as no fuller on earth can whiten." So that we may infer that while the form of our Lord remained the same, the fashion of that form underwent a change. His whole sacred Person seemed to be living with light, light flashing outward from within, and rendering luminous and bright in unspeakable glory His face and form and dress.

The dazzling brilliancy after the glorification of our Saviour radiating from His Person, St. Paul beheld in his journey to Damascus. "At midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them that journeyed with me." This celestial glory St. John also beheld in a vision on Lord's day: "I saw one like unto the Son of Man" (the beloved disciple recognised his risen and ascended Master) "clothed in a garment down to the foot and girt about the breasts in a golden girdle. His head and His hairs were white like wool, as white as snow, and His eyes were as a flame of fire, and His feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace, and His voice as the sound of many waters. And His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength."

Like unto this luminous body of surpassing glory will our present bodies become in that dread hour, when the moment of their transfiguration arrives. Of what substance they will be we know not; we know that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, and we know that as there is a natural so there is to be a spiritual body. But in this expression *spiritual body* no indication

is given of the substance of that "house not made with hands:" for the term "spiritual" does not signify made of spirit or of an airy texture; it signifies "suited to a spirit;" it implies a celestial body meet to entertain a saintly spirit, a new tenement with a new organism attuned to the harmonies of the invisible world and adjusted to the glories of the heavenly Jerusalem.

St. Paul apparently wrote these words in that attitude of expectation, to which I have alluded, under the impression of the near approach of that great day which at other times he sees afar off, when he says that "he has a desire to depart and to be with Christ," when he states that "he has fought the good fight, he has finished his course," when he speaks of a fearful apostasy looming large in the far distance, a confederacy of infidelity to be dispersed and confounded by the brightness of the coming. But on the other hand, as in this passage, so in the Epistles to the Corinthians, he sees the gates of heaven ready to open and the King of Glory ready to descend, when he expresses an earnest desire not to put off his earthly body but to put on over it the body celestial.

But this stupendous change, which will be sudden and instantaneous (for though we shall not all sleep, yet we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye), whether we shall then be out of the body or in the body, this stupendous change we shall undergo by virtue of our intimate union with our Lord Jesus Christ, who was the first, as in the transfiguration so in the resurrection. This is most true, for as there is for all men a union with Adam, so for the elect there is an intimate union with Christ. The first man Adam was made a "living soul"—which is another phrase for the "natural man," one in whom the highest part of our complex humanity *the spirit* is overridden by the lower part *the soul*, in which reside the animal powers, the passions,

appetites, instincts, and the intellectual powers, understanding, fancy, memory.

These powers, both animal and intellectual, which constitute us sons of Adam so many living souls, are not themselves the seat of our immortality; they are doomed to decay; the eye shall lose its lustre, the limbs their strength, the passions their fervour, the mind its grasp. It is not from what we inherit from Adam that our bodies shall be glorified, for he was made a "living soul," but it is from what we hold from Christ that we shall be glorified, for he was made a "quickening spirit." As by our union with Adam we fade, we die, we sink under the earth, so by virtue of our union with Christ we live, we rise again, now in the spirit and hereafter in the body. We become fellows of that holy society and citizens of that Divine commonwealth which is founded and established in the heavens: out of which heavens shall He one day descend, who shall transfigure the bodies of His faithful followers, of all who have repented of their sins, of all in whom the empire of the spirit dominates and regulates the province of the soul, who having risen by faith to the life spiritual, hope to rise still higher, even to the life immortal, all by virtue of their membership in Christ.

T. S. EVANS.

*THE AIM, IMPORTANCE, DIFFICULTIES, AND
BEST METHOD, OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.*

THIRD PAPER.

OUR search for the unseen realities around and above us has now reached an historical stage.

We have heard in the whispers of our own hearts and in the moral judgments of our fellow-men what seem to

be echoes of the voice of a Supreme Judge: in the universe around us we have detected, as we think, the footprints of a Creator: and in the inequality of moral retribution in the present life we have seen a glimmer of a life beyond the grave. While pondering these things, Christianity, as a great moral and social fact, claimed our attention: and, tracing Christianity to its source, we found in the first century of our era a moral and spiritual impulse which stands alone as the one great turning-point in the history of our race. This unique impulse is attributed by all Christians and in all Christian literature to one unique Person. To investigate this impulse, and to learn all we can about this Person, are the tasks now before us.

The method of investigation which I shall suggest is one which all men use when searching for matters of fact which have not come under their own immediate observation. We will seek for witnesses who can give evidence about the matter in question, examine their credentials, and estimate their trustworthiness; and accept as facts only such conclusions as are forced upon us by the evidence which our witnesses afford.

Holding a place absolutely unique in the literature of Christianity and of the world, we find a volume, or rather a library of small volumes, professing for the most part to have been written by immediate disciples of Christ. To these documents we naturally turn for information about the Founder of the Christian Church.

Our first work is to determine the authorship, or at least the early date, of the documents themselves. The first five books of the New Testament are anonymous. We will therefore, since the authorship of an anonymous work is a complicated problem, pass over these for the moment in favour of the thirteen letters which follow, bearing the name of Paul, the illustrious Apostle of the Gentiles. Each of these Epistles we find accepted as

genuine, without a shadow of doubt, in places widely separated, before the close of the second century. And a variety of evidence, external and internal, has convinced all scholars, even those differing about almost everything else in the New Testament, that at least the first four of these Epistles are genuine works of St. Paul. This earliest step in our historical research belongs to the department of New Testament INTRODUCTION.

That our copies of St. Paul's Epistles present, within narrow and well-defined limits, the actual words he wrote, is made quite certain by the science of TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

We have now a secure standpoint from which to view the Author of Christianity. In the writings of the most conspicuous of His early followers, in the words and thoughts of St. Paul, we shall hear a re-echo of the words, and see a reflection of the face, of the Great Teacher.

With this in view, we shall endeavour to trace the line of thought of each Epistle. The difficulty we shall find in following their closely interwoven arguments will prompt a careful study of the language in which the Apostle wrote. And, since all human language is an outgrowth of the mind of man, we shall be led to study language as a whole and the essential relation between human thought and the words in which it finds expression. Thus grammar and philology will lend their aid to systematic theology, and will become departments of sacred scholarship.

With St. Paul's Epistles we shall compare the discourses attributed to him in the Book of Acts. We shall thus have a new and altogether independent witness touching the teaching and the thought of the Apostle.

It will soon become evident to us that St. Paul's conception of the Gospel and of Christ was no mere aggregate of ideas, but was a living growth in which all details

were developed from a few indissolubly connected root-ideas. Growing out of these root-ideas we find various partial conceptions of the Gospel, some of them peculiar to St. Paul, conceptions which we can understand only by comparing them each with the others and by tracing all to these root-ideas. Indeed so peculiar are some of these secondary conceptions, and so closely interwoven are they with the entire thought of the Apostle, that, unless we keep them in view, very many of his arguments and of his practical applications of the Gospel will be utterly unintelligible to us. When therefore, by a preliminary study of the Epistles, we have reproduced in some measure the writer's conception of the Gospel and of Christ, we shall find that this reproduced conception will shed further light on the Epistles from which it was derived. Just so the generalisations of natural science explain to us the phenomena from which they were derived.

As examples of conceptions of the Gospel peculiar to St. Paul, I may mention Justification by Faith; the believer's crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and enthronement with Christ; and the Church viewed as the body of Christ. Underlying these peculiar developments as their only explanation, and underlying his entire teaching and assuming a multitude of forms, are the great fundamental doctrines of Salvation by Faith, Salvation through the Death of Christ, and the Holy Spirit dwelling in believers as the animating principle of a new life. And underlying these fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, as their inseparable basis, we find throughout every Epistle, St. Paul's conception of Christ as One infinitely raised above all mankind, and marked out as such by His resurrection from the dead.

The above are adduced merely as illustrations of what I here advocate as the best method of theological research.

The student will frame by induction from the writings of St. Paul, his own reproduction of the Apostle's conception of the Gospel and of Christ.

This reproduced conception will claim to be accepted as historical fact. We shall be compelled to believe that St. Paul confidently held it. And for so remarkable a phenomenon we shall seek a sufficient cause. We shall ask whence these doctrines were derived; and how Paul came to bow with reverence so profound in the presence of a fellow-countryman of his own day. It is true that this profound reverence is fully explained by his confident belief that Christ had triumphed over death. But this explanation only forces upon us with greater urgency the question how St. Paul came to believe, with a confidence which became the mainspring of a life of heroic benevolence, that Christ rose from the dead.

Before attempting to answer these questions, we notice that already they who have trodden the path just marked out have made definite progress in their search for information about Christ and His teaching. They have gained a clear and harmonious view of Him and of the Gospel as these appeared to a contemporary of highest character and occupying a most conspicuous position in the early Church. We seek eagerly for other evidence from other witnesses, to confirm or to modify the picture already obtained.

The Gospel and First Epistle commonly attributed to John, the beloved disciple, present to us another and very definite conception of Christ and His teaching. To determine the actual authorship of these documents, belongs to the department of New Testament INTRODUCTION. But their confident reception by all Christian writers in countries widely separated by sea and land, without a trace of doubt, before the end of the second century, is indisputable proof that they are not later than the age im-

mediately succeeding that of the apostles. The Gospel is specially valuable as being a biography of Christ Himself, and containing long discourses professedly from His lips. The Epistle is for the more part an exposition of these discourses. We have thus abundant materials for a second picture of very early date, of Christ and the Gospel. These materials must be used in the manner described above for the writings of St. Paul.

The total difference in thought and expression between the works now before us and the Epistles of St. Paul, assures us that we have here an altogether independent witness touching the life and teaching of Christ. We hasten to compare his testimony with that of St. Paul. Especially we look for the great fundamental doctrines which we found underlying the writings of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

All these doctrines we find equally conspicuous in the works attributed to St. John. And we find them there traced to the lips of the Great Teacher. In the discourses of Christ (*e.g.* John iii. 15-18, v. 24, vi. 35, 47) faith occupies a unique place as the one condition of salvation. The strange words in John vi. 53, "*Verily, verily, I say to you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves,*" admit of no explanation except that our eternal life comes through Christ's death. Nor do the equally strange words of 1 John i. 7, "*The blood of Jesus His Son cleanseth us from all sin.*" These last words prove how completely the writer's mind and thought were dominated by belief that our spiritual life comes through the death of Christ. We also find the Holy Spirit specially promised by Christ on the eve of His betrayal, to dwell henceforth in His disciples. Christ occupies a place of dignity absolutely and infinitely unique, as earlier than Abraham and the foundation of the world, and as Maker of whatever exists. And the Fourth Gospel takes us into the

empty grave, and shows us the neatly folded grave-clothes of the Risen Saviour.

This remarkable agreement between men evidently so different in mental constitution and surroundings, and so intelligent, as St. Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel, banishes all doubt that the fundamental conceptions held so firmly by each of them are correct reflections of the actual teaching of Christ. And their equal and confident assurance that He rose from the dead is a great mental fact demanding a sufficient cause.

Other witnesses are at hand from the circle of the immediate followers of Christ, ready to give evidence touching their Master and His teaching. We have the Epistles of James and of Peter, and the three Synoptic Gospels. Each of these deserves careful study on the lines marked out above. The First Gospel and the Epistle of James present, in the main, one type of teaching, a type differing widely even from the teaching common to St. Paul and to the writings attributed to St. John. This difference gives great importance to their points of contact, some of which are, though not obvious at first sight, yet broad and deep. The Second and Third Gospels and the Book of Acts present, in life size a picture of Christ and of His teaching embodying all the main features noted above in the Fourth Gospel and in the writings of St. Paul.

The method of research suggested above will place before us the chief literary evidence touching Christ and His teaching. The significance of this evidence, that is, what light it casts upon the actual facts of Christ, each student must determine for himself. Of the whole case, the only explanation conceivable to me is that the broad underlying principles common to all the longer documents of the New Testament were actually taught by Christ. For only thus can I account for the hold they took of such men, and men so different, as St. Paul and the author of the Fourth

Gospel. And, if Christ actually taught that the eternal life of all who believe the Gospel comes through His death,¹ He thereby claimed a position infinitely above the highest of men. We are, therefore, prepared to believe that the superhuman rank given to Christ by the writers of the New Testament was also claimed by Him. And their profound devotion to Christ as one infinitely greater than themselves and their fellow-men, receives its only explanation in their belief that He rose from the dead. And, if He rose from the dead, His resurrection accounts for their belief and for its effect upon themselves, and through them upon the world. For, if in Jesus Christ there was at work a power which arrested the otherwise inevitable corruption of a dead human body and brought life out of death, then are we not surprised to find in Him a power able to arrest the corruption into which in His day the entire human race was sinking, and to breathe into it a new life. If He did not rise, His disciples' belief that He did, and its direct and indirect effects, are phenomena irreconcilable with all other mental and moral phenomena, and utterly inexplicable.

It will be noticed that the above explanation of the literary facts of the New Testament and of the historical facts of Christianity, viz. that Christ actually taught the doctrines common to the chief writers of the New Testament, claimed a unique place above the entire human race, and rose from the dead, implies a sufficient cause for the distinctions of right and wrong, and for the material world : for it implies a Creator who is also a moral Ruler of His creatures. And, by revealing a retribution beyond the

¹ A volume on *The Study of Theology*, by Dr. James Drummond, gives, on pages 198-207, a somewhat full outline of the matter of Systematic Theology. But the only mention in it of the Death of Christ is a remark on page 201, "Here must be discussed the dogma of the atonement and its modifications." This omission suggests that Unitarian theology can find no place for a conception which moulded the entire thought of the two greatest immediate followers of Christ. I can account for the omission only as an extreme case of the blindness of dogmatic prejudice.

grave, it affords some explanation of the imperfection of moral retribution in the present life. For all these facts, they who reject the explanation given in the New Testament are bound to propose another open to fewer objections than that which they reject.

The above method of theological research has the advantage of being thoroughly scientific. It does not require us to take anything on trust. Its first steps rest on the solid foundation of a multitude of facts which have come under our own observation. Each subsequent step rests upon our own induction from these facts or upon further literary facts discovered as we proceed. Thus throughout our course we have under our feet solid ground.

Moreover, this method affords independent proof of each of the great doctrines of the Gospel. For it traces each of them, by the principles of historical research, to the lips of the Great Teacher. Moreover, we find that some doctrines rest upon much clearer and more abundant evidence than do some others. We are thus directed to the most important elements of the revelation brought by Christ; and are warned to examine with special care doctrines not supported by evidence so clear and abundant.

A special advantage of the mode of study here suggested is, that it does not imply that the Bible is infallible, but treats the various documents of the New Testament simply as human compositions and tests their credentials as we should those of any other writings. Now, so important an assertion as that the Bible is all true, no one should make or accept without clear proof. And the proof of this assertion is exceedingly complicated, involving a multitude of details, many of them reached only by wide scholarship. Moreover a great part of the proof lies in the words of the Bible itself. The method here adopted reveals to us, apart from the infallibility of the Bible, a firm foundation for faith in Christ; and thus leaves us to detect, at our leisure,

by the study of the New Testament which this method involves, the unique dignity and Divine authority of the Sacred Volume.

This method has also the advantage of bringing us at once into a department of study profitable to the spiritual life. It begins at the basis and source of all religion, viz. our inborn consciousness of right and wrong; and leads us at once into the presence of Christian teachers sent forth personally by Christ. To a large extent their teaching attests itself by appealing to that in us which is noblest and best and by meeting the deepest needs of our inner life. Thus the historical proof of the Gospel is confirmed by most valuable inward evidence.

The line of theological research traced in this paper enables us also to keep company with a much larger number of seekers for the truth than would any method of study assuming, or even discussing, the truthfulness of the Bible. For this assumption, or discussion, involves an immense number of details demanding careful inquiry; and therefore repels many who are not prepared for the inquiry and yet are unwilling to accept the assumption without inquiry. On the other hand, the interest attaching to the modes of thought of a teacher so famous as St. Paul will be admitted by all students of the moral and mental development of our race, even by those unable to accept as true the historical statements of the New Testament.

This method also lessens the danger of prejudice, a danger ever present in theological studies. For it raises our researches above the tumult of theological contention into the cooler atmosphere of grammar and exegesis, and propounds historical questions about the opinions of men who have long ago passed away. This is a healthy check to the partisanship evoked by the various creeds of the various Churches.

It cannot be denied that this method will give us a much

fuller and more exact knowledge of the Gospel and of Christ than can be derived from study of even the best modern works on theology. These are but skeleton outlines of the Gospel. Consecutive study of the New Testament shows us the framework of truth clothed in living flesh and blood and taking hold of matters of practical daily life. This reveals to us the practical worth of Christian doctrine. Indeed, it is not too much to say that Gospel Truth drawn directly from the Bible exerts upon us an influence altogether above that of doctrines derived from works on systematic theology. It is true that many of the practical matters referred to in the New Testament have passed away. But this will compel us to search for the broad principles underlying the teaching of the apostles. And these principles we shall find bearing upon the details of our own life as closely as upon the matters to which they were originally applied. For the great principles of human life pertain to all ages.

Although the new Testament, studied consecutively, must ever be the theologian's chief text-book, works on Biblical and on systematic theology are nevertheless of very great value. So are grammars and lexicons to the student of an ancient language, and works on botany to a student of flowers; although a knowledge of flowers derived only from books, or of a language derived only from grammars and lexicons, is poor indeed. All these helps must be kept in their own subordinate place, not as substitutes for, but as guides to, the proper object-matter of our research. Similarly, works on systematic theology are of most use to those most familiar with the Bible. For their knowledge of Biblical details will enable them to appreciate the generalisations of theologians.

Among writers on Biblical Theology, that is, writers who have endeavoured to reproduce the various conceptions of the Gospel held by the various writers of the New Testa-

ment, I may mention Neander's *Planting of the Christian Church*, a work which has been to me of greatest value. Very good also are Reuss's *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age* and Schmid's *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*. To those who can resist the temptation to put these in place of consecutive study of the New Testament, and who will use them only as guides, I cordially recommend them. Unfortunately, amid the great mass of English theological literature, much of it very good, I am not able to name any work on this subject.

The line of study indicated in this paper is much more practicable than at first sight appears. Consecutive study of the New Testament is within reach of every Christian; and is specially binding on every pastor of a Christian Church. All Christians read the Bible. It is therefore easy for each one to concentrate his attention for a time on one part of it. Every half hour of prayerful study will bring him into closer contact with the writer's thought. It will not be difficult, at the close of each book, to review its chief teaching and to compare this with similar teaching elsewhere in the sacred volume. Thus almost imperceptibly we shall reproduce each writer's conception of the Gospel; and look, with them, at the One Original. In this way may, and ought, each Christian to become, in the best sense, a Christian theologian.

In another paper I hope to discuss the relation of theological research to the dogmas in which during the centuries Christian doctrine has, in the Church and the Churches of Christ, assumed definite form.

JOSEPH AGAR BHET.

MEYER.

AUTHORS fare variously at the hands of the editors of Encyclopædias. Obscure names are at times rescued from oblivion, while men of mark are forgotten. In the great book of Dr. Herzog, we look in vain for any article commemorative of Bishop Butler, although in the index we find one or two references to "Butler, *John*, Bishop of Durham;" nor is the omission supplied even in the new "improved and enlarged" edition. The recently published volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in like manner presents no notice of the greatest of modern expositors, whose place and influence over New Testament exegesis in the nineteenth century can only be compared—amidst whatever differences—to those of Calvin, Grotius, and Bengel in the centuries preceding, and whose name has achieved so unique an eminence, that it continues to be prefixed to editions of his Commentaries which speak of him in the third person, discuss his opinions, and even set aside or controvert his views.

The life of Meyer was essentially devoted to the faithful discharge of his duties as a pastor, and to the ceaseless pursuit of the studies that bore their fruit in the preparation and continuous revision of his great work. We learn the chief turning points of his career and some interesting particulars as to his habits from a brief sketch drawn up by his son, Dr. Gustav Meyer,¹ supplemented by some reminiscences of his friend and colleague, Dr. Düsterdieck, in the new edition of Herzog's *Encyklopädie*.

Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer was born at Gotha, on 10th Jan., 1800. His father, Johann Nicolaus Meyer, was shoemaker to the petty ducal court; his mother, whose

¹ A translation of which I prefixed to the First Volume of the English edition of the Commentary on the New Testament.

maiden name was Leinhoff, and who possessed much shrewdness and force of character, survived for fifty years to see the distinction reached by her son. A portrait at the age of seven depicted him as "pale and delicate, but with large earnest-looking eyes betokening an active mind." He was wont in after years to recall the deep impression made on him by the sight of the churches of his native town filled with prisoners by order of Napoleon after the battle of Jena (1806), as well as, at a later date (1813), by the retreat of the French pursued by the Cossacks, after the three days' "battle of nations" at Leipzig. The Gymnasium at Gotha was a school of much celebrity under Doering, the editor of Catullus and Horace, as its director, and with Rost, the Greek grammarian and lexicographer—whose memory Meyer tells us that he gratefully revered, though he came eventually to regard his Grammar as inadequate—on its staff of masters. Here he received that thorough training in the Greek and Latin languages—a training of which, in his own words, the classical tongues were *prora et puppis*—that formed the sure groundwork of his future career. While he regretted the neglect of the modern languages in the school-culture of his youth—in a letter in my possession he laments especially his imperfect knowledge of English—we learn from his son that he was wont favourably to contrast the freedom for self-development according to aptitudes and tastes under the older system with the more stringent requirements of the later Gymnasial instruction. On the tercentenary of the Reformation, in 1817, he composed and publicly recited an elegant Latin poem in honour of Luther; and on leaving school in the spring of 1818 his certificate bore that he held the foremost place, that he excelled in several branches of study, especially in his accurate knowledge of Latin, and that the modest and sterling character associated with his attainments made it easy to forecast *qualis ille olim extiturus sit*.

During his last two years at school he came under the religious instruction and personal influence of Bretschneider, the acute and vigorous representative of the middle course which was termed "Rational Supernaturalism," who had become Superintendent and Chief Pastor at Gotha in 1816, and who several years afterwards originated, by his "Probabilia," the controversy as to the genuineness of the Gospel of John. But while Meyer speaks of him as his "great teacher," and doubtless drew from him in some measure the spirit of Rationalism that marked his earlier efforts, there are no means of tracing the extent of the influence thus exercised.

In 1818 Meyer entered on the study of Theology at Jena, and spent five successive semesters there. At first he threw himself with zeal into the student-life of the time, and shared in the aspirations of the *Burschenschaft*, or "Young-Germany-League," until the assassination of Kotzebue led to the suppression of the system, and released the energies of the youthful student for other work. He attended the lectures of Gabler, Schott, Danz, and Baumgarten-Crusius on different branches of theology; studied Arabic under Kosegarten; listened with less interest to the lectures of Fries on philosophy; but engaged with ardour in historical and philological studies under the guidance of Luden, Eichstädt, and Reisig. He often spoke afterwards, his son tells us, of the lectures of Schott delivered in Latin, and of the theological discussions conducted in the same language, with which the students occupied themselves in their walks. For the sixth semester his studies were pursued at home, as his father, who had sustained loss of means by becoming a surety, was no longer able to meet the cost, small as it was, of residence at Jena. He underwent his theological trials at Easter, 1821, and Michaelmas, 1822, to the entire satisfaction of the examiners; and during the interval he acted as tutor in the house of Pastor Oppermann of Grone, near

Göttingen, who boarded and educated with his family a number of boys of the upper class. There he met his future wife, the daughter of the pastor, and conceived such a liking for Hanover, that he resolved a few years later to have himself formally naturalised, so that he might be at liberty to receive an appointment in the Hanoverian Church.

At the end of 1822 he entered on his first pastorate at Osthausen, in Thuringia, a parish of about 400 inhabitants; and in July, 1823, he married. His pastoral duties, though performed with assiduous care, left leisure for special study; and it was here that he prepared his text and translation of the New Testament, issued in 1829. Towards the end of 1830 he became permanently settled in his adopted country of Hanover, having been nominated as pastor at Harste, a rural parish with an income estimated at 529 thalers (about £78), the cure of which he served with much acceptance, and which he valued highly for its nearness to the resources of the University Library at Göttingen. After seven years spent at Harste, he was promoted to the office of Pastor-Superintendent at Hoya, which afforded fuller scope for the exercise of his skill and promptitude in practical affairs as well as of his gifts as a preacher. It was then the custom for a newly appointed Superintendent to deliver a Latin thesis before the Consistory, as it is still the usage in the University of Glasgow for a new Professor to read a Latin thesis before the Senate. Meyer chose as his subject, *De fundamento ecclesie*, asserting, on the basis of 1 Cor. iii. 11, the person of Christ rather than His doctrine as this foundation; urging in opposition to Strauss, whose book had lately appeared, the importance of seeking to reach with historical fidelity the true sense of the apostolic words apart from philosophic assumptions; and pointing out how befitting, in accordance with that eternal foundation, it was, that the Christian pastor should search for Christ

in Scripture, preach the Gospel of Christ without human addition or alteration, and make it his constant aim "*ut Jesus Christus animos impleat, mentes illuminet, vitam regat.*"

After four years' stay at Hoya, Meyer, who had now become well known and had received an invitation to a Professorship at Giessen, entered on wider and more varied duties to which he was called in the capital of his adopted country, having been, on the suggestion of the Consistory, nominated to the threefold office of Consistorialrath, Superintendent, and Chief Pastor of the Johanniskirche, where he had 5000 souls under his charge and received but slight help from a court-chaplain associated with him, who took indeed the afternoon service, but was often unable to share the pastoral work from having to eke out his scanty income by giving private lessons. Meyer preached every Sunday forenoon, beginning his preparation with a view to it even on the Monday; and, in addition to other duties devolving on him, took a prominent part in the theological examinations before the Consistory, pursuing all the while with zeal his exegetical labours. In 1845 these labours were specially recognised by the University of Göttingen bestowing on him the degree of Th.D.

Hitherto Meyer had enjoyed remarkable health and vigour, and had not hesitated to make the fullest use of his time and energies; he might be seen at his writing-table as early as 5 or even 4 a.m. But in the spring of 1846 he was prostrated by a severe affection of the liver, which threatened his life and left him far from capable, even after his recovery, of the old unsparing exertions. He found it necessary to change his habits, to walk for an hour every morning in all weathers, and to lighten his work by resigning in 1848 his office as Superintendent and Pastor, and confining himself to the Consistorial duties for which he was signally fitted. In 1861 he was raised to the rank of Oberconsistorialrath.

Meanwhile he had been visited by various trials; by the loss of a son of seven years of age in 1847; by the death of his venerable mother in 1851; by the removal, in 1858, of another son, Emil, aged 23, of whom he speaks as "rich in gifts and theological attainments;" by the decease of his publisher Ruprecht, to whose friendliness, and interest in the Commentary from a higher point of view than that of a bookseller's speculation, he makes graceful reference in a Preface of 1861; and lastly, by the crowning bereavement which befel him in 1864—and is sorrowfully reflected in a Preface of that date—through the death of her who had been his partner for forty years. Soon after the latter event he took up his abode and spent his nine remaining years under the roof of his son, Dr. Gustav Meyer, who gives us a pleasing picture of his quiet life, of his regularity of early rising, of his daily morning walks with his two grandchildren, of the varied play of instruction, earnest and jest in his conversation, of his warm interest in the more stirring events of the outer world, above all, of his unfailing devotion to his favourite exegetical science and of his continuous labours on its behalf. Towards the close of 1865 he retired from his Consistorial office, though he continued for a time to share in the theological examinations. "*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*," he says in a Preface of 1866, with reference to the fact that he could now give his leisure wholly to the one work of revising the several portions of his Commentary, as new editions were called for.

His son tells us that those who were in close intercourse with him for the last two years of his life could not but discern the signs of gradually declining strength and advancing age—symptoms which he himself attributed to the effects of a fall that, about a year before his death, made it necessary for him to curtail his walks. His last illness was comparatively short. On the 15th of June, 1873, he still followed his ordinary routine of life, and went to rest, as

was his habit, at eight o'clock. Shortly after midnight he was seized with severe abdominal pains, the signs—as it proved—of an incurable ailment connected with his earlier illness twenty-seven years before, and too surely foreboding the nearness of the end, which came after a few days' severe suffering borne with Christian resignation. Once, when there seemed a gleam of hope, he said, "Willingly would I still remain with you; but willingly am I also ready to depart, if God calls me." His son mentions that "during the state of half slumber into which he fell, the most diversified images flitted in chequered succession before his mind. Now he saw himself seated before a large page from the New Testament, on which he was employed in commenting, while he fancied that he held the pipe in his mouth. In this way had he devoted many a quiet morning hour to his favourite study, when his window had been the only one lighted up in the street. Then, again, he busied himself with the Fatherland; 'Germany, Germany above all,' we heard him distinctly say. Was it that the recollections of his student-days full of fervour and enthusiasm became interwoven with the mighty events of his latter years? Soon afterwards he saw clearly the cross, of which he had so often during his long life experienced and diffused the blessing. Shortly before 10 p.m., on the 21st June, he entered without struggle upon his rest." On the cross at his tomb are inscribed the words: "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's."

We learn from his friend, Dr. Düsterdieck, that Meyer was a man "of a thoroughly pure and simple nature, and of genuinely evangelical piety; humble in heart, modest in all the ordering of his life; calm, clear, and true. He led a comparatively retired life, concentrating his energies on the duties to which he was directly called, and on the great task of his life. He took little part in public affairs. In 1846

he attended the Church Conference at Berlin; in 1857 he was nominated by the king among the 'evangelical clergymen of repute' called to the deliberations of the First Chamber of the Hanoverian Estates, and took an active part in its legislation as to schools; in 1863 he rendered valuable service in the consultations which led to the ordinance of 1864 regarding the Hanoverian Church; and on his retirement in 1865 it was specially arranged that he should continue to act as a member of the conference for revising the text of Luther's translation of the New Testament, in which capacity he went twice to Halle. His preaching was simple, clear and fervid, firmly based on the given text and on Scripture as a whole. He excelled in catechetical instruction, and won the affection of those whom he prepared for confirmation. He was scrupulously careful in the discharge of his functions as a Church administrator, with due regard to the requirements of the Confession and the rules of the Church. He was distinguished as an examiner, putting his questions with a precision that left no doubt as to his meaning, and out of a knowledge so full and sure that, while he was never at a loss himself, any candidate who had been working with diligence and to good purpose might rest assured of the fact being brought out and cordially recognised. On the other hand he had no toleration for phrases meant merely to cover ignorance."

The only book issued by Meyer apart from his Commentary was an edition in Latin of the "Symbolic Books of the Lutheran Church," which he published in 1830 on occasion of the tercentenary of the Confession of Augsburg, and which he indicated as not alien to the other work on which he had already entered. He had observed and deplored the fact, that many a young theologian of the Lutheran Church knew merely the names, and some slight particulars as to the history, of the Symbolic books of the Church, without being sufficiently acquainted with their

contents, which yet—historically viewed—formed the very doctrine of their Church. He strongly urged such a critical and historical study of them as should distinguish these from later additions; and expressed the hope that the approaching commemoration might call forth a renewed affection for, and interest in, those venerable writings.

But, while he thus signally did homage to the standards of the Church, and was in all his ecclesiastical action loyal to them, he did not conceal his regret that the Church had not been content to abide by the comparative simplicity of the Confession of 1530, but had subsequently in the Formula Concordiæ taken up, and with theological subtlety affirmed as elements of her doctrine, so many definitions belonging to the domain of science and, as such, more fitly left to the free handling of the schools.¹ "The science of the Church," he says elsewhere, "will know how to magnify Christ; but it needs not for that purpose the doctrinal definitions of Chalcedon; what it aims at is not Chemnitz, but Paul and the whole New Testament."² Often does he recur to the truth that Scripture is the "*norma normans*" for the Confessions themselves. "In laying down the principle of an appeal to Scripture, the Confession points to an authority transcending its own, to which the Church herself with her doctrine as well as the individual must bow. If a thorough and conscientious searching of the Scriptures should arrive, on one or another point of doctrine, at results not in keeping with Confessional definitions, its duty at the bidding of the exegetical conscience is not, after an un-Lutheran and un-principled fashion, to disguise such results or to cloak them with a misty phraseology, but, with faith in the sifting and conquering power of truth, openly and honestly to hand them over to the judgment of science and the Church."³

¹ Preface to second edition of Comm. on Rom. (1834).

² Preface to fourth edition of Comm. on Rom. (1868).

³ Preface to 1 Cor., 5th ed. (1869).

It was in this spirit that Meyer addressed himself to the preparation of the one great work that has made his name known to the world and constitutes his abiding title to be held in honour wherever the New Testament is studied. On this he seems to have early resolved to concentrate his strength. To that peculiar form of literary effort in which the Germans delight to dissipate much of their energy—a form so tempting to the youthful student eager to try his wings, so troublesome to the subsequent inquirer in his search, but often happily so effective in consigning its contents to speedy oblivion—the writing of academic programmes, disquisitions, or reviews, Meyer contributed almost nothing. He laboured in but the one field of exegesis; but there, as it has been said, he was thoroughly at home, and applied all his powers without allowing them to be drawn off or distracted by other pursuits.

Meyer, writing in 1872, and looking back with thankfulness on the forty years that had passed since the first part of his work was published, remarks that “a scientific work, which has passed through a long course of development and still continues that course, has always a history—a biography of its own—intimately connected with that of its author.” Far more important and interesting than the outward life of the author in this case is the history of the book which mainly engaged his thoughts for fifty years—a period, of which the first half was occupied in the preparation and publication of its parts, and the second half in the unwearied revising, correcting, and enlarging of the successive editions¹

¹ The following are the dates of the successive editions of the Commentary proper, exclusive of “unchanged reprints” issued in the interval between the first and second editions: I. 1, Matthew, 1832 (with Mark and Luke), 1844, 1853, 1858, 1864. I. 2, Mark and Luke, 1832, 1846, 1855, 1860, 1867. II. John, 1834, 1852, 1856, 1862, 1869. III. Acts, 1835, 1854, 1861, 1870. IV. Romans, 1836, 1854, 1859, 1865, 1872. V. 1 Corinthians, 1840, 1849, 1855, 1861, 1870. VI. 2 Corinthians, 1840, 1849, 1856, 1862, 1870. VII. Galatians, 1841, 1851, 1857, 1862, 1870. VIII. Ephesians, 1843, 1853, 1859, 1867. IX. Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, 1847–8, 1859, 1865.

that were called for with increasing frequency as years rolled on. The number of volumes prepared by Meyer in person was ten ; but, as each of these appeared in four or five editions largely recast during his lifetime, his literary labour may be more fitly expressed in terms of forty volumes than of ten ; and some idea may be formed of the magnitude of his task of research in preparing for each revision, when we consider that he deemed it his duty to read, digest, and turn to account—whether by accepting or rejecting the results—all the copious literature accumulating during the interval. Almost every one of these editions is ushered in by a more or less considerable preface ; and these Prefaces are of deep interest and value, not merely on account of their frequent personal and polemical references, but also because they furnish the only means—apart from Meyer's original draft—of learning the principles by which he was guided and the methods which he followed. These may be gathered, doubtless, from their practical application in the work itself ; but it is in the Prefaces only, where he often re-asserts and emphasises particular points, that we find some approach to that formal statement of his processes and aims, which he proposed to give at the close, but in point of fact never drew up.¹

What was meant as the first section of the work appeared at Göttingen in 1829, while Meyer was still in his first charge at Osthausen, under the title of "The New Testament in Greek critically revised according to the best helps, with a new German translation," in two volumes probably not much known in this country. The Preface contains what we have called the original draft of the Commentary,

¹ For the opportunity of seeing most of the earlier editions I am indebted to the kindness of my friend and neighbour Dr. Morison—himself a singularly fresh and thoughtful exegete—who has allowed me to draw on the rich stores of his unique exegetical library. I have also to thank Professor Lindsay for some volumes from the library of Tischendorf, now under his charge in the Free Church College.

indicating the motives which led him to undertake his task, and presenting in clear outline the distinctive features of the contemplated work. With much in the phenomena of the times to gladden the friends of pure and genuine Christianity, there was much to make them sad—in the proselytes going over to the Church of Rome; in the prevalence within the Lutheran Church itself partly of the most thoughtless indifference, partly of a rigid and barren attachment to unevangelic dogmas; above all in the spread (as contrasted with the *well-understood* gospel of Christ) of “mysticism supported by a famous philosophy of the day, which knew how to cloak its doctrines in the dress of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, while it concealed behind Christian and Confessional formulæ ideas utterly alien to the simple gospel.” The chief means to counteract this evil was an unbiassed historico-grammatic study of the New Testament, not dominated by any philosophy of the time; and to contribute in some measure to that study was the object of the present work, which the less needed any justification for its appearance, because there was no work of the kind on the whole New Testament meeting adequately, concisely, and at little cost the wants of theological students. He had long felt the need of such a book and resolved to do something towards filling the gap. His first requirement—a critically revised text—was obtained not by an original recension on his own part, nor by a modification of the *textus receptus*, but by a revision of that of Knapp, in which he introduced such changes as commended themselves to his judgment after carefully weighing the evidence and the views of the best critics. His main law in the choice of readings was *caution*. He introduced some new features of punctuation. As to the translation, he held that there is a great difference between a translation meant for popular or church use, which must aim at literal fidelity and exhibit no paraphrase or subjective view of the translator, and one

meant for the use of the theological student, which seeks to elucidate the original even by resorting, where needful, to paraphrase. He sought to supply the latter want. His translation was prepared independently, and only collated afterwards with others so as to improve its expression. For the Apocalypse he adopted the version of Herder. The special aim of the work hardly admits of its being fairly compared with other versions more general in destination, but it is well adapted in clearness and definiteness to its object; and, the better to attain this definiteness, it presents within brackets and in smaller type short explanations deemed needful to bring out the meaning.¹ These explanatory hints are, of course, interpretations; and the reader is asked to take them provisionally, and to suspend his judgment as to their pertinence in individual cases, until the appearance of the Commentary that was to follow.

At the close of the Preface he sketched the leading features of the Commentary thus projected; and the sketch shows how clear and precise from the outset was his grasp of all the elements of the plan that he subsequently filled up. To every book of the New Testament a short historico-critical introduction was to be prefixed. With every chapter there was to be given a suitable selection of variants, accompanied by a statement, in summary or in detail, of the critical evidence, and by a concise specification of the grounds, external or internal, for decision; the more important conjectures were to be added with a note of their authors and their value. The exegetic portion, which was to follow the criticism of the text and was to be worked out according to the principles of the only true interpretation—the historico-grammatic, was to state clearly

¹ Such as Matthew viii. 10, "even in Israel I found not such faith (in my personal healing power);" John xiv. 84, "a new (as regards degree) commandment I give unto you;" Romans i. 17, "For in it is revealed righteousness before God (freedom from the guilt of sin, the good pleasure of God, and hope of eternal life)."

and precisely the different explanations worthy of note, along with the names of their authors and leading supporters, and the grounds on which they were based; to prove that the explanation selected, or proposed on his own part, was the true one, or, if that should not be possible, to commend it as the most probable; and to add the reasons for setting aside or postponing others. The connection of ideas was to be shown with the utmost clearness; the explanation of words was to receive philological illustration; and the historical element was to be set forth clearly and on its proper grounds, but so as to avoid undue prolixity. What might fairly be taken for granted in the case of men who had had a classical culture at school was to be omitted or confined to hints; but all the more attention was to be given to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament itself, of the LXX., of the Apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings, and of Josephus and Philo as well as of the Rabbins. The Commentary, on the other hand, was not to trench on the domain of dogmatics or philosophy. To bring out with entire impartiality by the method prescribed the meaning which the author *thought of* in his words—that is the duty of the exegete; but in what relation the sense thus brought out stands to the doctrines of philosophy, or how it accords with the doctrines of the Church or with the views of her theologians, or how the dogmatic writer is to manipulate it for his science—these are matters which do not concern the exegete as such.

The Commentary as projected was to consist of *two* divisions; it extended ultimately to *sixteen*—the last six, with which we are not here concerned, being entrusted by Meyer—who found enough to do in revising his previous volumes—to scholars in whose powers and kindred spirit of working he had confidence, Lünemann, Huther, and Düsterdieck. As it grew under his hand and assumed an independent place and value, he soon abandoned the link

(appearing in the title of some of the earlier parts) that attached it to the preliminary Text and Translation; to these he made little reference afterwards, doubtless as deeming them practically superseded. And he never carried out his intention of giving, by way of appendix, a full specification of the critical and exegetical literature of the several books and leading passages, and of the New Testament as a whole, accompanied with some estimate of their value.¹ But in every other respect he accomplished (as concerns the major part of the New Testament) all that he had purposed and promised.

It is impossible here to do more than to indicate briefly the salient characteristics of the work. The introductions prefixed to the several volumes, and dealing with their authorship, readers, date, occasion and aim, are models of their kind, exhibiting the most assured results of research with a condensed statement of their grounds, happily seizing and aptly describing the outward surroundings as well as the motives, tone and spirit of the writers. Calm in temper and sober in judgment, they often blunt the edge of an argument by the simple insertion of a parenthetical clause or appending of a pointed question. Especially effective is the criticism bestowed on the positions of the Tübingen school, of which Meyer freely acknowledged the ingenuity, the dexterity of dialectic, and the valuable services in the cause of historical research, but which he regarded as essentially a morbid outcome of philosophical theory and as containing in itself the seeds of its own dissolution. He deeply regretted the mistaken application of "so great an aggregate of good powers" to the quest of visionary hypotheses.² At the same time he could not but regret that, in controversy with the method of Baur, people should

¹ In the English edition I have endeavoured partially to supply the defect by lists of the exegetical literature, prefixed to each volume.

² See the Prefaces to Acts, 3rd ed. (1861), and 4th ed. (1867).

speak of "believing" and of "critical" theology as of things necessarily contrasted and mutually exclusive, as if faith were of necessity uncritical and criticism necessarily unbelieving; and he pointed out that Luther himself—whose racy words he is fond of quoting—combined a majestic power of faith with all freedom, nay boldness of criticism. He draws a striking picture of the changing currents of opinion which his own time had witnessed. "We older men have seen the day when Dr. Paulus and his devices were in vogue; he died without leaving a disciple behind him. We passed through the tempest raised by Strauss some thirty years ago; and with what a sense of solitariness might its author now celebrate his jubilee! We saw the constellation of Tübingen arise; and, even before Baur departed, its lustre had waned. A fresh and firmer basis for the truth which had been assailed, and a more complete apprehension of that truth—these were the blessings that the waves left behind."¹

WILLIAM P. DICKSON

(To be concluded.)

RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.—The Bishop of Durham in his published writings has shown us what an ideal Introduction to the New Testament would be. We can scarcely hope that an ideal so truly conceived and requiring so much original research can be realized by any one scholar. It is to Archdeacon Farrar we have looked for an Introduction, readable and trustworthy, English in character and practically serviceable. His previous studies have naturally led up to such a volume, and in the *Messages of the Books*² he has given us, if not quite what we hoped for, yet by far the best book of the kind. It gathers into one volume material which has hitherto

¹ Pref. to Rom. 4th ed. (1864).

² *The Messages of the Books, being Discourses and Notes on the Books of the New Testament*, by F. W. Farrar, D.D., etc. (London: Macmillan, 1884.)

been scattered; and very little that has any bearing on his subject escapes this accomplished and indefatigable scholar. It is needless to say of any book of Canon Farrar's that it is full of information, presented in a style rich with allusion and in a high degree animated. But the impression left upon the reader of the present volume is, that the author has for many years been collecting material, but has been somewhat hurried in throwing it into shape. The book has not that crystalline sharpness of outline which is only gained when time is allowed to thoughts and facts to find their own affinities. It has not that concentration of sifted criticism which gives permanence to literary work. The fact is, that Canon Farrar has sacrificed himself to the fancied requirements of the pulpit, and has produced a volume which is a cross between a course of sermons and a critical introduction. The material is all here, and the critical judgments are sound, but the contents are too miscellaneous. If Canon Farrar would rewrite the book, not for the pulpit but for students, he would earn the most grateful acknowledgments. As it is, this is the best Introduction we have, an ample storehouse of facts and opinions, indispensable to any one who wishes to understand the New Testament. Of course from one or other of the author's critical opinions every one will dissent. Advanced critics will pronounce him biassed by traditional views because he advocates the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles and those to the Ephesians and Colossians; while others will dislike the admirably condensed note in which he musters the arguments against the integrity of the Epistle to the Romans. But Canon Farrar's opinions are never fantastic.

EXPOSITION.—To issue without apology a commentary¹ which would inevitably challenge comparison with the great expositions of Ellicott and Lightfoot, Mr. Beet has felt to be more than his audacity could venture or his sense of propriety allow. He eagerly disclaims all rivalry with these masters of the art, and in justification of his own work explains that his aim is different from theirs. "To me St. Paul's line of thought was not so much itself an end as a means of reaching his general conception of the Gospel and of Christ. My aim is thus, in some sense, a stage in advance of theirs." But if this was Mr. Beet's

¹ *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, by Joseph Agar Beet. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.)

aim there was a much nearer road to it. A German writer who meant to expound the "Lehrbegriff" of Paul would have selected, grouped, and criticised relevant passages, and he would not have spent his own strength and exhausted his reader's patience by toiling through a mass of partly relevant, partly irrelevant matter. A book written from Mr. Beet's point of view with the incisive dialectic of Pfeiderer or the genius of Hausrath is certainly a desideratum in our theological literature. But a final or even "epoch-making" treatment of the theology of Paul can be looked for only from the very highest kind of faculty, and from a combination of theological culture and literary discipline that occurs very rarely indeed. From Mr. Beet we shall expect all that a diligent and painstaking student, a competent theologian, and a careful scholar can give, and that is much. Meantime we accept these preliminary volumes of exposition with a certain lack of interest, for while they contain careful and solid work, they do not individually justify their existence by materially adding to our knowledge of the Epistles of St. Paul.

In the volume before us there are one or two details which might perhaps be reconsidered in view of a second edition. In the first place, there are two rather awkward misprints, one on p. 144, the other on p. 179. Then, while certainly Mr. Beet has deserved well of all students of New Testament Greek by his satisfactory exhibition of the distinction between the aorist and the perfect, does he not perhaps obtrude this distinction somewhat more than is needful, and might he not be induced on second thoughts even to alter his translation of the aorists on pp. 44 and 124? Again, on the interesting expression, "See with how large letters I have written," he remarks, "The size of the letters used proclaims, like capitals in modern printing, the earnestness of this concluding summary of the foregoing epistle." We confess to a sense of incongruity in the idea of Paul's using capitals to express earnestness. If Mr. Beet does not believe in the Apostle's imperfect sight, might he not admit the supposition that Paul could not write the quasi-cursive used by his amanuensis, or simply that he took the most obvious means of distinguishing his own hand from the scribe's? Occasionally Mr. Beet is obscure; as on p. 99, where he says: "In reference to the death of Christ there has been in the Church of Christ throughout all ages and all countries a practical unanimity." We should extremely regret to think that Mr. Beet believes himself to be expressing the Pauline view

of the sacraments when he says: "The inward and spiritual benefits of baptism are, by those baptized in infancy, obtained actually and personally only when the baptized one claims them by personal faith in, and confession of, Christ, thus joining the company of His professed followers."

It is right to add that for readers who do not like to read a commentary in which much Greek appears, this volume is probably on the whole the best they can use, although it has not the vitality and genius of Professor Macgregor's little volume.

It is with the utmost satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of a commentator¹ of the first class, whose work bears to be judged by the highest standard, if indeed it does not even raise the standard by which exegetical work is measured. Already we have so much that is valuable in illustration of the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, that it might have seemed superfluous to add further comment even on so many-sided a part of Scripture. But such books as this which we now receive from Principal Edwards make room for themselves and disclose unthought of possibilities of exposition. Meyer's microscopic and conscientious criticism, Canon Evans' original and often brilliant notes, Stanley's exquisitely finished and instructive paraphrase, will not soon or easily be superseded. But in the volume of Principal Edwards there is apparent a combination of gifts, any of which singly would make the fortune of a commentator. His knowledge of Greek and familiarity with both classical and patristic literature are worthy of one who professes himself the friend and pupil of Prof. Jowett. To the use of the highest linguistic authorities he has brought a fineness of grammatical and lexical discernment which enables him to criticise and sometimes to correct their judgments. But the great merit of the commentary is that the reader finds himself in contact with the mind of Paul, and not merely examining an old-world document. Here too in all probability the influence of Prof. Jowett is to be traced. Certainly there is much that recalls that veteran scholar's best manner in the lightly-borne learning and philosophic insight which lay bare to us the growth and significance of Paul's ideas. Proportion is maintained throughout the volume; and while the most accurate exegesis is being con-

¹ *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By Thomas Charles Edwards, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, Principal of University College of Wales, Aberystwith. (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1885.)

ducted, the main purpose, of explaining the mind of Paul, is never lost sight of in prolonged verbal discussions or irrelevant digressions. All is thought out beforehand, and compactly and vigorously expressed. Critics may be expected to differ regarding particular interpretations adopted in this Commentary, but there will be universal agreement regarding its method and its workmanship. It will be recognised as the work of a sound scholar, of a learned, earnest, and philosophical theologian, of a mind masculine and accomplished; and it will speedily take its place as the indispensable aid to the understanding of this part of Scripture. Such first fruits of the recently founded Welsh Colleges go far to justify their erection.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.—Mr. Allin's contribution to the literature of Universalism¹ will scarcely affect the controversy. It is a diligent but wholly uncritical compilation. The familiar texts are once more put on the rack and the witness furnished by torture is loudly vaunted. We are once again assured that "all men," "æonian," "punishment," do not mean what the learning and common-sense of the Church catholic have always supposed them to mean. Meanwhile the fundamental difficulties are allowed to stand aside, and Mr. Allin does not shed any light on the laws governing the growth of character or on the bearing of this life upon the life beyond.

Impressed with the belief that the majority of young men bring with them to the Universities a very limited acquaintance with the truths of the Christian religion, Canon Jellett devoted the Donnellan Lectures² for 1882-3 to their enlightenment. The little volume containing these Lectures may safely be put into the hands of any one who needs a succinct, clear, and thoughtful account of the essential truths of religion. The treatment of the Sacraments is a little uncertain, but with this exception the book is fitted to be helpful.

SERMONS.—Among sermons the foremost place must be accorded to the volume³ of a preacher whose sole orders are those which the indefeasible gift of genius confers. George Macdonald, poet,

¹ *The Question of Questions—Is Christ indeed the Saviour of the World?* by Rev. Thomas Allin. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1885.)

² *Some Thoughts on the Christian Life.* By Henry Jellett, D.D., Canon of St. Patrick's. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1884.)

³ *Unspoken Sermons.* Second Series. By George Macdonald. (London: Longmans, 1886.)

preacher, novelist, is not each of these in turn, but each in all he does. Whatever form he gives his work, it carries the novelist's creative power and interest in life, the poet's concentration of expression alive with imagination, the preacher's earnest and loving aim. In these "unspoken sermons" we have the ripe fruit of wisdom sifted by experience; from every page there rings helpfully out the voice of a faith and character tested and refined by contact with life. The sermons are easily read and will be treasured in memory. The exegesis may at times be fanciful, and the letter of the teaching irreconcilable with any known creed, but the spirit of it is the spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind. His optimism which has been one of the least obtrusive but brightest and healthiest influences in this generation, appears in this volume untinged by sentimentalism, and rather as the pure intuition that "God does His best for every man."

The *Farewell Memorials of Past Service*, which the Bishop of Sydney has presented to the English public¹ are not only a pleasant memento of his days in Westminster, but also a good augury for his episcopate at the Antipodes. The sermons cannot be called great, but they are dignified, wise, and elevating. They deal with points that touch national and civic life in a manner that commands respect for its healthy and believing tone and clear-headed firmness.

A volume² of delicate, true, and helpful delineations of certain phases of Christian experience comes from Elgin, and conveys a most favourable impression of the original and careful work that is being done for the pulpit by conscientious men.

MISCELLANEOUS.—English readers of primitive Christian literature are now fairly well supplied with editions of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.³ Mr. De Romestin's handy volume is packed with carefully sifted information, and in small compass furnishes the student with a complete and trustworthy *apparatus* for the study of the *Teaching*. The edition of Canon Spence, which con-

¹ *Sermons preached at Westminster Abbey*, by Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Sydney. (London: Cassell & Co., Limited, 1884.)

² *The Shadow of the Hand and other Sermons*, by William A. Gray, Elgin. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1885.)

³ *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, with Introduction, Translation, etc. By H. de Romestin, M.A., Incumbent of Freeland, and Rural Dean. (Oxford: Parker, 1884.)

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, a Translation with Notes and Excursus, etc. By Canon Spence, M.A., Vicar of St. Pancras. (London: Nisbet, 1885.)

tains in a convenient and tasteful form the Text with a translation, illustrative notes, and nine excursus, adequately meets the wants of all but professional scholars. The translation is almost absolutely accurate, and is given in idiomatic and suitable English. In the *cruz* (c. xi., ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας) Canon Spence follows Bryennius, and translates, "who summons assemblies for the purpose of showing an earthly mystery," and understands that by "an earthly mystery" such symbolic actions are meant as Isaiah's going barefoot, or Agabus' binding his hands and feet with Paul's girdle. But κοσμικὸν is not so suggestive of such symbolic actions as of what concerned the world at large. The declaration of future and as yet hidden historical movements might be undertaken by a prophet as well as the inculcation of religious truth. But a prophet who called the Christian people together that he might indulge in apocalyptic rhapsodies, and not for the sake of ethical or religious instruction, was not unlikely to fall under suspicion. It is this case for which the *Teaching* here legislates. It supposes the case of a prophet whose Christian conduct has shown him to be a true man, but who indulges in apocalyptic rather than in ethical harangues—who reveals in the Church mysteries that concern the world but does not teach to do what he himself does—and regarding this case it gives the instruction that such a prophet is to be left to God's judgment, for after all the utterances of the old prophets were largely characterized by similar disclosures. [The clause "what he himself does" refers not to what he does in the Church, but to his ordinary conduct.]

In c. xvi. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καραθήμενος is translated "under the very curse"; and the note suggests that the Saviour Himself, "in terrible irony, is here styled, 'the very curse.'" This was suggested by Bryennius, but seems out of keeping with the directness and simplicity of the entire document. Hilgenfeld's suggestion of ἀπό instead of ὑπό is also needless, as ὑπό itself means "from under" and gives an obvious and satisfactory sense.

Canon Spence thinks it not unlikely that the *Teaching* was compiled at Pella by Symeon, son of Cleopas, or one of his disciples, ten or twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. That it was written by a Hebrew Christian is unmistakable; but it is almost equally certain that it was written for Christians not resident in Palestine. Not to mention the instruction regarding baptism, which indicates a colder and less well-watered country, the direction regarding meats offered to idols and the use of the

title "bishops" and not "presbyters," are decisive as to its extra-Palestinian destination. Its priority to Hermas and Barnabas is still in question. Reluctance to refer any Christian document to the first century is at present epidemic; but although the *Teaching* is on the face of it a compilation—the ethical portion being addressed to the individual pupil "my child" and the ecclesiastical to communities—yet the reasons for assigning it to a very early date are certainly strong. It was written when as yet the gospel was known as oral teaching rather than as a written book, while as yet the agapé and the communion were not disjoined; when the Christian communities were visited by itinerant prophets, apostles, and teachers, when it was needful to tell Christian congregations to elect bishops and deacons, and when some congregations had no fixed teachers. There is an entire absence of controversial allusion and even of traces of peculiarly Pauline or Johannine theology. And, to some minds more convincing than all, there is a sober and earnest simplicity of style and a direct common sense which are more congenial to the Apostolic than to the sub-Apostolic age.

The immense improvement in educational text-books which recent years have seen, has not as yet been of proportionate service to teachers of religion. In languages, physics, history, the difficulty is to select from many excellent hand-books; but, if we except Dr. Abbott's *Bible Lessons*, there is scarcely any book one can put in the hands of an intelligent boy to give him a survey of the rudiments of religious truth. Mr. Hunter Smith has issued a volume which in large measure supplies this want.¹ The idea of the book will commend itself to all who teach. It is, to group passages from the Greek Testament so as to present a complete body of Christian ethics. Short essays and full notes in illustration of these passages are added. These notes and essays are full of carefully selected information. In our opinion, the book might be made still more helpful by a somewhat more systematic grouping of passages, by printing the Greek Text consecutively, and relegating the essays (which should be even shorter than they are) to the Notes. But even in its present form this manual will be of very great service, not only to schoolmasters, but also to students and ministers of religion.

MARCUS DODE.

¹ *Greek Testament Lessons for Colleges, Schools, and Private Students*. By the Rev. J. Hunter Smith, M.A., King Edward's High School, Birmingham. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1884.)

BREVIA.

M. Naville and the Exodus. (*The Store-city of Pithom.* By M. Naville. Trübner & Co., 1885.) At last the publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund has appeared, and we turned to it with the feeling that all our difficulties and doubts were to be straightway solved. The first glance over the pages showed that our impression was wrong, and when we studied the book carefully, to our dismay we find that the promoters of the Fund have no definite proofs to give us that the place which they have found is, in reality, the Pithom of Exod. i. 11. M. Naville begs the whole question, by saying in his preface that he is fully aware how much conjecture there is in the matter, and all he seems to affirm is that excavations in Egypt are very necessary. Briefly the matter is this: M. Naville found at Tell-el-Maskhutah Egyptian remains which bore the name of Pa-Tum, i.e. "the house or temple of the god Tum": he further found that the district in which Pa-tum was situated was called *Thukut*. Lepsius, Chabas, and others believed that this town was called Ramses; but M. Naville came to the conclusion that it was Succoth, arguing that Pa-tum was Pithom, and that *Thukut* was Succoth. In the present work he gets over the philological difficulty of identifying Succoth with Thukut by referring to the article by Brugsch in the *Zeitschrift* of 1875. Brugsch, however, argues the wrong way round; he thinks that because at times the Egyptians represented the Δ in Δ ("a buckler or shield ") by *t* or *th*; therefore the Hebrews when they wanted to represent an Egyptian *th* would use Δ . This is not the case, however, for the Hebrews used Δ to express the ordinary *s* (as in the name Rameses, where they have double *Samech*, corresponding to the double *s*) and Egyptian *th* would be represented in Hebrew by Δ .

Besides this, *Succoth* means "tents," while the Egyptian *Thukut* is the name of a town and has not this meaning. Also, the word for tent (*sekti*) is found in Egyptian and is not spelt with *th* but with *s*. M. Naville has, apparently, forgotten that Heliopolis also was called *Pa-tum*. Brugsch, after placing Pithom in various parts of Egypt has come round to the view that M. Naville's *Pa-tum* may be the Pithom of the Bible; but one asks with reason why all the celebrated English Egyptologists should hold themselves aloof and not support the alleged discovery of Pithom, unless they have good reason for so doing. They are not the only

exceptions, for the names of Lanzoni, Pierret, Lieblein, Pichl, Erman, Wiedemann, and others may be mentioned with them.

It is a sad fact, but many people believe what they wish, and we are afraid that the promoters of the Egypt Exploration Fund are to be classed among the number who do so. It is, indeed, praiseworthy of the Fund to excavate in Egypt, but it is not right to draw money from people's pockets under the plea that they have found a Biblical city while the proofs are not forthcoming. We much regret that the name of so great a scholar as Naville is joined to so questionable a theory. E.

The Cherubim.—It is very far from my wish to open a controversy in the *EXPOSITOR* on a point of Biblical archæology. If Mr. Budge's statement (which I implicitly trust so far as the British Museum cuneiform inscriptions are concerned), that the original of the word Cherub has not yet been found in the Assyrian and Babylonian tablets, should be verified, we shall have a striking proof of the necessity of testing the Assyriological statements of Lenormant. Up to this time, continental Assyriologists have been inclined, I think, to accept Lenormant's statement (*Origines*, i. 118), that *kirubu* occurs frequently in the talismans of M. de Clercq's collection as a name for the Babylonian steer-god. *Se non è vero, è ben trovato*; but I earnestly hope that it is true. M. Renouf's paper I have already referred to (*Isaiah*, vol. ii. pp. vi. 298). The *cherefu* which he has found in the Book of the Dead seems as nearly akin to the cherubim as the *seref* or lion-bird, pointed out by Mr. Tomkins, is to the seraph. But I decline entirely to accept any Egyptian etymology for either cherub or seraph. May I add, how much finer is the characteristically Old Testament or later Hebrew conception of the celestial beings, as humanity idealized, than those originating on their earthly side in nature-myths? T. K. CHEYNE.

The word *kirubu* does occur in Assyrian, but does not appear to have the meaning or signification of *Cherubim*. The *kirubu* of a man is spoken of, and a *kirubu* of hearing. We shall, however, speak of this in a future paper. Unfortunately I have never seen M. le Clercq's collection, and therefore cannot say how far M. Lenormant's statements need verification. It is much to be wished that M. le Clercq would publish copies of his gems, for then scholars could be certain about readings, etc., once and for all. E. A. W. BUDGE.

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THE JEWS AND THE GOSPEL.

WITHOUT attempting to deal with the larger apologetic argument from the Old Testament as a whole, I propose to investigate a most unhackneyed kind of Messianic prophecy, and to ask if the Jews themselves do not prophesy of their future conversion to the Gospel. I think that the hostility of the Jews to the so-called "Christian propaganda" would be abated if we approached them in a less dogmatic spirit, and made more of this as our preliminary thesis, that the needs, both ethical and religious, of the people of Israel are not and cannot be satisfied by Judaism. I hope that I am on my guard against Christian prejudices. I admit all that can be said in praise of the *Pirke Aboth*, which, having had a certain amount of liturgical use, and being still inserted in the Jewish prayer-book, must have contributed elements to the moral character of existing Judaism. I admit that both in Jewish literature and in Jewish life there is a Christianity, or (for I am not using this word in a dogmatic sense) a Christianness, of a more developed character than that which St. Augustine recognises in every human soul. I should not be at all surprised if many have some times even been tempted by this phenomenon to give another turn to a famous question dramatically thrown out by St. Paul, and ask, "What advantage then hath the Christian?" But before replying in a sense unfavourable to Christianity, let us inquire if the Christianness of Judaism is so distinct and unqualified as we have been led to presume. Let us investigate that world in itself, Jewish literature and Jewish life. Without

plunging into the chaotic mass of piled up traditions and discussions which the Jews of old were wont to call the "Sea of the Talmud," let us but read the most celebrated of the sixty-seven treatises of the Mishna, to which I have referred already, the *Pirke Aboth*, in the standard translation by Dr. Charles Taylor (1877). In spite of the occasional golden sentences, some of which have become current coin among ourselves, can it be said that the moral spirit of the work as a whole is lofty or edifying? Do not Antigonus and Hillel and Gamaliel (the reputed authors of some of the choicest sayings) strike us, to adopt a truly poetical figure from Kuenen, like "captive birds pecking at the wires of their cage" (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 213)? And after reading this, pass on to a repository of Talmudic lore, which, although the composition of an old-fashioned orthodox divine, has obtained the approval of such a fair-minded and comparatively speaking competent Christian reviewer as Dr. Schürer, though it fails to satisfy the unreasonably high requirements of the Talmudic contributor to the *Westminster Review*,—I mean the *System of the Theology of the Palestinian Synagogue*, by Ferdinand Weber (1880).

The author, though a plain parish clergyman, is nowhere dependent on those older works of Christian scholars, some of which are vitiated to Christians of our day as well as to Jews by the spirit of partisanship, or even of hostility, which pervades them, but has acquired his knowledge at first hand from the sources.

It may be urged in reply to his Jewish censor, that there is hardly a single historical investigator who might not be stopped in mid-career, if too severe an inquiry were made into the critical character of his texts and the profundity of his preliminary studies. I cannot see that Weber's book is "dangerous" because "attractively written" (if indeed this amiable weakness can be detected by an Englishman); and

Weber's friends, in editing his, alas! posthumous work, do, I am sure, only express the author's conviction when they admit—as who must not admit?—the variety of opinion on many points among the Jewish doctors. But is not Weber right in stating as a fact that legalism is the central principle of orthodox Jewish religion? So far as I can judge, the eminent Westminster reviewer (from whom, if he will continue to write in English, great things may be expected) errs in one direction, as much as he supposes Weber to have erred in another. All systems of ecclesiastical theology are no doubt dangerous to unprepared students; but if there be any Church whose theology admits, under due limitations, of being systematized, it is the Jewish; both the early Catholic and the Roman Catholic Church are inferior in uniformity of belief, as well as in cohesiveness and extent, to the Church of Talmudic Judaism. I know that freedom of thought and loftiness of aspiration were not extinguished by the synagogue; but I hold that the free thoughts and the lofty aspirations which do occur are prophetic of a future Jewish Christianity; indeed, speaking a language which has been partly formed by Christianity, I can hardly do otherwise than call them Christian. It would be too great a digression to inquire, whether we may not go beyond Castelli,¹ and argue, not merely for a spontaneous semi-Christian movement in Judaism, but for a direct Christian influence upon members of the early Jewish community. I will admit provisionally (what in itself would be only natural) that any ethical parallels in the documents of early Judaism and those of Christianity are due to the common origin of both forms of religion. But I do maintain, that after the fall of Jerusalem such parallelism on the Jewish side became more and more an eccentricity; the

¹ *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, p. 222. The thesis of direct Christian influence has been recently adopted and ably supported by Dr. Edersheim in his Warburtonian Lectures.

ship of Judaism (would that we had a corresponding term to *Judenthum*!) was inevitably steered to the haven of legalism. Christianity in one way, as Buddhism in another, had taken up what M. Réville, in his *Prolegomena of the History of Religions*, calls the "principle of redemption"; a fatal logical necessity drove Judaism to identify itself more and more with that of law. Persecution too contributed to the same result. The faith of the Jews in their *Torah* was, to use the beautiful figure of the Jewish novelist Franzos,¹ the helmet which covered their head in the day of battle (or let me say rather, of martyrdom). It kept them united, and what was even more essential, distinct; it tightened their grasp of that personal relation of God to His people, which, as Malachi showed, even sin could not destroy. But it also led them farther and farther on the downward path of the externalization of religion. The process indeed never was and never will be completed—the psalms and prophecies, and the human heart itself, never ceased to lift up a protest against it; but how deep in superstition the Jews of the continent lay till Mendelssohn, "the third Moses," appeared, Jewish writers are not backward to admit. The last hundred years have seen a great change both for good and for evil in the Jews of the West; but a thick cloud still broods over those of the East, or, to continue the novelist's metaphor, the helmet of traditional faith has dropped down so low upon their heads that their eyes are closed to the bright light shining in the West. As to the purity of that light, we should no doubt differ from Franzos, but his metaphor is but too applicable to the Talmudic Jews of Eastern Europe, and to the uncouth Jewish pilgrims in the Holy City.

¹ *Die Juden von Barnow*, p. 309. Notice the novelist's personal opinion: "Es wäre nicht nöthig dass sie ihn lüften, und vollends verderblich wäre es, wollten sie ihn ganz fortwerfen, aber ebenso verderblich ist es, wenn er ihnen die Augen deckt."

I have spoken of Moses Mendelssohn, who with a far greater justice than Hillel, the Babylonian, may be called a reformer (or shall we say a *transformer*?) of Judaism. Both these ornaments of the synagogue agree however in this respect, that the leading feature in their characters is gentleness. Both also (but especially the former) are representatives of those lofty aspirations which, not less than the formalism of the multitude, prophesy of a Jewish Christianity. Those who thus hunger and thirst after the higher righteousness will surely at last seek a more congenial home in the brotherhood of Jesus, and the many who have sunk or who are in danger of sinking so low will surely recognise the only arm that can rescue them from the deadness of formalism.

In speaking thus, I have admitted by implication that legalism is not bound to pass into a stiff formalism. Who indeed knows not that the "yoke of ordinances" may be so mitigated by spiritual love as not only to be endured but gloried in? Just as those which M. Réville calls the religions of redemption do not disdain the aid of law, so one at least of the religions of law has often been idealized to its adherents by the action of love. From the time of Hosea onwards, love to God has been regarded by the Jews (and *we* have learned it from them) as a state of the will as much as of the affections. When Rabbi Johanan of Tiberias died (the Rabbi who said that the teachings of the Soferim were even more to be esteemed than those of the Law), his contemporaries illustrated his love of the Law by quoting the glowing words of Cant. viii. 6, "If a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned." A passionate love, then, for Israel's God could be combined with intense legalism. Yes, but not a serenely happy love, and therefore, on St. John's principles (1 John iv. 18), not a perfect love. When the earlier Johanan, called "the light of Israel," lay sick unto

death, his disciples noticed with surprise that he trembled and wept. The closing words of his answer may be remembered. "There are before me two ways, one to paradise, the other to Gehinnom, and I know not which of the two ways I shall have to go—whether to paradise or to Gehinnom" (*Ber.*, 28 b.). I give this as an exceptional instance. Theoretically, such a great Rabbi could have reckoned on gaining paradise by study of the Law and good works. Why did God give so many *miçvoth* or commandments? it is asked in one passage of the Talmud. That He might multiply Israel's merits. The combined theory and practice of the *miçvoth* (all of which have direct relation to God), and a sufficient practice of beneficence, would ensure an overplus of good deeds in the great account-book. Still, though exceptional, I can believe that the case of Rabbi Johanan of Tiberias was not a solitary one, and that Saul of Tarsus was not the only legalist who, in despair of his own merit, cried out inwardly, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?" The higher spirits could not but be saddened, both in life and in death, by the thought of the strictness of the Divine requirements, more especially if they did not belong to the Rabbinical class. Doubtless they lived in the spirit of that saying of Rabbi Eliezer, "Repent one day before thy death" (*i.e.* repent every day). But with the majority a mechanical formalism was the necessary consequence of the Jewish doctrine of sin, or rather of sins, and merit, or rather of merits—a formalism which consoled itself for omissions of duty and commissions of sin by those palliatives and casuistic expedients in which Jewish theology abounds. The sadness of the few and the deadness of the many I claim as prophetic of Christianity. To a superficial observer, the Jews may seem as hard to convert as the Mohammedans; but no Jew who has learned the fifty-first Psalm, or devoutly and unsuperstitiously taken part in the

Liturgy for the Day of Atonement, can be impervious to the Christian message of a Redeemer from sin. Yes; Christianity may and does deepen the sense of sin in those Jews who embrace it; but it only deepens, it does not create it. Not only the religion of the Old Testament, but that compromise with human weakness which is based on the Talmud, testifies to the consciousness of sin. That can be no trifle which requires the elaborate and diversified methods of expiation which we find in Judaism, and which contrast so strongly with the simplicity of the New Testament doctrine. I know that original sin in the developed sense of Christian theology is not a Jewish tenet; but that by the sin of Adam the human race was permanently injured, not only physically, but morally, Judaism does not deny. A man ought, no doubt, in theory, to overcome the *יֵצֶר הָרָע* (the inclination to evil), but as a rule, can he? By its complicated arrangements for obtaining righteousness, the Jewish system virtually recalls its controversial denial of the fall of the human race, and points far beyond itself.

But we have really no occasion in our controversy to open the question of the effect of the first human sin. It is the sense of forgiveness for personal sins which transforms the atmosphere of the Christian soul and enables the man to cry, not merely *אֲבִינִי*, "our Father," but *אָבִי*, "my Father" (with which, as Delitzsch has shown, the "Abba" of Rom. viii. 15 is in Talmudic usage synonymous). No one can say that there is in Jewish Theism that tender personal sentiment which characterizes the Theism of Christendom. The fact may throw some light on the coldness and distance of which even Jewish writers have complained in the worship of the synagogue. For centuries long God was worshipped and loved (this the Jewish prayer-book testifies) as the God of Israel, but now that Israel seems able to stand by itself, and to need no protector, the love of many has

waxed cold. The first national redemption has become a fading memory, and there is no second redemption to reconsecrate the old forms. This is of course not the only reason which might be given. It is true that Israel is ceasing to realize its ancient history; it is also true that post-Biblical Jewish Theism became, or tended to become, too abstract and transcendental to admit of devotional warmth. As long as the nationalistic sentiment was vigorous, it partly counteracted this tendency—this is abundantly proved by the synagogue poetry of the middle ages. But now—how many Jews are there who can sympathize with that poetry? How many Mordecais or Daniel Derondas are there to renew the broken tradition of Jehuda Halevi? Where, where is a Moses with his rod to strike the hard rock in the wilderness, and give them drink as out of the great depth?¹

To me the answer cannot be doubtful: in a different sense from that of Philo, we may say of the Jewish people, *ὁρφανοῦ λόγον ἔχει*. What is it that makes a Christian service warm and hearty? It is the personal appropriation of God's promises. It is God's love shed abroad in each heart (Rom. iv. 5), and evoking love in response. I know that the sacred name of love has been abused, and that there is a pietistic sentimentality which many Israelites have mistaken for Christian love. But—the truth remains, that Jesus has redeemed us who believe, by revealing the Father's love. "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen." The angel between man and his God is not, as an ancient Jewish doctor said, his reason, but that Love who is the highest reason. Here is the angel who can say with Israel of old, "Spring up, O well" (Num. xxi. 17), and whose felt spiritual presence or Shechinah will

¹ The natural effect of the treatment of the Jews by Christians is not a belief that "God is Love." See the powerful and affecting conclusion of Franzos' novel, *Moschko von Parma*. The hero of the story gives as the lesson of his life, that God is not a God of revenge, nor of mercy, but of justice.

stir up the latent ardour of Jewish worshippers. "Therefore," we may devoutly say with John Wiclif, "Sweet Father that art in heavens, Thy name be hallowed in the hearts of heathen men that they may believe in Thee; and in the hearts of Jews, that they may believe more perfectly and also love Thee." (*The Pore Caitiff*.)

Nor is it only love to God which will assume a new colour in the Israel of the latter days. The Jewish view of love to man will partake of the transformation. The traditional virtues of Judaism will be glorified, and their limitations removed. For limitations there are. With all humility it must be said that the moral standards of the Jewish community need some rectification. No doubt, patients in a hospital should be considerate to each other, but I am not so much criticising performance as standards. I remember what Bishop Temple has told us of our indebtedness to the Jews: I could perhaps even go farther than he. But the moral standards of the Jews, as a body, have been too stationary, while those of the Christian races have progressed. Philanthropy, in the widest sense, is a tender plant in Judaism, isolation and the pride of race and religion have hindered its development. More than this; the point of progress reached by the highest Jewish teachers has not been maintained; the non-Israelite is not without the shadow of an excuse for his bitter feeling and cruel conduct towards the Jew. I have a painful sense that the milder and in the ethical sense Christian virtues are imperfectly recognised by Jewish standards, and I am confirmed in this by those striking pictures of genuine Jewish life with which great Jewish novelists have made us familiar. There is still, I think, in Jewish standards too strong a dash of Hebraism, for a race which boasts itself, not without excuse, to be the classic people of religion. There is still room in short for a second redemption.

Do I merely say, there is room? Nay; from east and

west alike there is an urgent cry for a broader spiritual horizon. "Oh that the salvation were given unto Israel out of Zion! Oh that the Lord would deliver His people out of captivity!" The cry may not be always expressed in the language of Canaan; but all who have faithful Jewish hearts—all, that is, who can devoutly repeat the Sh'mà, and have not fallen a prey to materialism—long for some better thing than the Judaism of the past. Must we not regard this longing as Messianic prophecy? And if the Jewish interpretation of it be different from ours, need that disturb us in our reasonable conviction? Apologetics are useless, if there is no common ground between the two sides in the controversy: useless for instance when directed against the lowest type of materialism. But the Jews and we have a common ground; we have the word of prophecy (in the widest sense), supported by the prophetic longings of the Jewish heart. Let us turn our thoughts to the latter.

I will not attempt a *Preparatio Evangelica* on a large scale, and will leave on one side the claimants of Messiahship, whose history would form an instructive chapter in a Christian Apologia. Far be it from me to judge them, or to pretend to have sounded a deep psychological problem. Nor will I do more than indicate the deep and prophetic dissatisfaction with Judaism expressed in the Cabbalistic movement. The points of contact with Christianity in the Cabbala are undeniable; the movement itself is natural, and deserves a sad, respectful sympathy, but it stands apart from the regular development of Jewish thought. The same remark applies to the Jewish movement in Persia towards Bâbism, the most modern outburst of nominally Mohammedan mysticism, and not without Christian affinities. And I must not attempt on this occasion to estimate the results of the preaching of Christian missionaries, and of the circulation of the New Testament in various parts of the Jewish world. I will only quote two significant

sayings, the one from an English, the other from a Russian Jew. The former an intelligent inquirer, has reached this point, that "Christ may, indeed must, have been more than human; but between this concession and Deity (he says) there is an infinite gulf." The other, a devout man, well read in the Old and New Testaments, said, "although I am still far from believing Jesus to be the Son of God, yet I consider Him my mediator with God," and I often say in my prayers, "This for the sake of Jesus of Nazareth" (that is, not for the sake of the inferior merits of the Jewish "fathers"). Such persons seem on the point of reviving a primitive Judæo-Christianity; dare we hinder them? Are we sure that the hellenized theology of the Church of the Councils is not partly responsible for Jewish unbelief? I do not wish to see the Christian religion de-hellenized; even for the Jews themselves a hebraizing Christianity could perhaps only be a halting-point. The doctrine of the Logos, in its essence, is the postulate, not only of a deep historical philosophy, but of a complete Christian experience. It has yet to be proved that this conception is inconsistent with the Theism of the Hebrew prophets. But there is no doubt that the mental habits of a Jew almost compel him to think that it is. He interprets the prophets by the light of the Sh'mà, forgetting that the great prophets were not preoccupied with the *monotheistic* idea of Deuteronomy, forgetting the *El-gibbor* of the greatest Messianic prophecy. While the prejudices of Judaism are what they are, is not a Judæo-Christian Church a necessity? In the earliest times the Gentile Christians received their directions from Jerusalem. Must the Jewish Christians in our time be dictated to by Leipsic or Canterbury? Such is the question which, during the past year, has been practically answered in the negative in the south Russian province of Bessarabia. I should have no excuse for not devoting some attention to this remarkable because spontaneous

Judæo-Christian movement, the official papers of which supply us with material as important as any of the Rabbinical commentaries. Its object is the formation of Christian communities of Jewish nationality ("sons of the new covenant"), repudiating the dogmatic forms of the Gentile Churches, and retaining so much of the Law and of the national customs of the Jews as is not inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel. Its leader, Joseph Rabinowitz, is not a Reform-Jew; he clings to the idea of a personal Messiah, not merely on Biblical grounds, but because "the moral and spiritual wounds" of the Jews require a physician, and this physician, this national leader or Messiah, can, historically, be no other than Jesus of Nazareth. "Therefore," says the twelfth thesis of the programme, "our strong love to our Israelitish brethren obliges us to sanctify and reverence the name of Jesus our brother, devoutly learning His holy words, and taking the books of the New Testament into our houses for a blessing, and uniting them with all the sacred writings which our true wise men in all generations have left us for a blessing." The words "Jesus our brother" sound the keynote of these remarkable theses, and contain the secret of the attractiveness of the movement. But another sentence of its leader, not included in the programme, is equally significant.—"I first of all honoured Jesus as the great man with a compassionate heart, afterwards as Him who sought the good of my people, last of all, as Him who has borne my sins."

The oldest church-history tells us how, on hearing certain things, the chief priests "were much perplexed concerning them, whereunto this would grow" (Acts v. 24, R.V). But to Jews and Christians alike we may quote the saying, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it" (Isa. lxxv. 8). Yes, even to Jews. For all friends of Israel should hail with joy every spontaneous moral effort on the part of Jews. I,

for my part, can greet with almost equal sympathy that phase of progressive Judaism which a young and fervent Israelite has so attractively pictured in the *Contemporary Review*.¹ Those who think with him may surely in a very true sense be called disciples of Jesus; for they not only honour our Master, but have been morally influenced by His life. I claim them as prophetic heralds of a fuller discipleship, when "all Israel," in St. Paul's words—that is, all Israel worthy of the name, the "servant of Jehovah" in one of the two higher senses—shall be "saved." I know full well that this liberal or progressive Judaism has its own interpretation of the great Messianic prophecy of the Deutero-Isaiah. To it "the hope of Israel" is not the Messiah, but the realization on Israel's part of its own quasi-Messianic calling. The prophecy of a Messiah (that is, of a king Messiah, and to the Jews there is no other sense of the word) is regarded as only the temporary investiture of the belief in progress.² But the prophecy of a servant of Jehovah, who shall make known the truth to the Gentiles, is permanently and literally true of the people of Israel. For this beneficent object, and not to bear an imaginary punishment, the Jewish people has been so wonderfully preserved. The Talmud has had its day; its ordinances maintained the national peculiarities; but all that was good in it has passed into the life-blood of its people. Reform-Judaism desires no return to Palestine, no exchange of prayer for sacrifice, no Messiah; it claims, indeed, a primacy, but only that claimed already for England by Milton, of "teaching the nations how to live." The theory of the Reform-Jews, both in its negative and in its affirmative aspects, is not so bold as it may seem. It

¹ *Is Judaism a Tribal Religion*, by Claude Montefiore. *Contemporary Review*, xlii. p. 361 foll.

² *Croyance au Progrès*. M. J. Darmesteter, in his eloquent *Coup d'œil sur l'histoire du peuple juif*.

is but the combination and development of teachings of eminent rabbis, from Johanan ben-Sakkai to Maimonides and Joseph Albo: it does but represent the point at which the entire Judaism of the West is bound logically to arrive. The same right by which the Talmudic doctors adapted the Scriptures to *their* age appertains to the wise men of our own totally different age. The question is that of the legitimacy of doctrinal and ritual developments. We have long ago settled this for ourselves in the affirmative; can we quarrel with the Jews for taking a similar course? I criticise the developments of Reform-Judaism, not as in principle unjustified, but as inadequate to the wants of the Jews. Take for instance its assertion of the Messianic functions of the Jewish people. I heartily concur with Jewish writers in opposing the theory that the Jews are under a curse for having rejected the true Messiah. Doubtless every nation must suffer the consequences of its own misdeeds, and, speaking historically, it was the rejection of that new creation of Judaism, called the Gospel, which involved the Jewish people in a complication of calamities. But must we not admit, that, upon the whole, the dispersion of the Jews has produced beneficial results both for themselves and for the world? I will only now allude to the preciousness for the balance of truth of the vigorous Jewish protest against polytheism. Was not this a result which deserves to be called providential? And must we not sympathise with the heart-felt rhetoric of Jewish preachers, when they declare that the flames which reduced the temple to ashes were not less the ministers of God's will and the prophets of His wisdom than the men who once erected that holy house.¹ Truly, if "Messianic" be only another word for "beneficent in the moral and religious sphere," the Jewish people has often exercised Messianic functions.

¹ S. Holdheim, *Predigten*, vol. i. p. 102, referring to Maimonides.

But how can we accept this for the fulfilment of the prophecies in the Deutero-Isaiah? For what is there upon such a hypothesis to justify the enthusiasm of the writer? and if a high ecclesiastical authority¹ (Archbishop Benson) is right, and there are truths from the far East waiting to be worked into our view of the Gospel, why may not other Eastern races besides the Jewish be called Messianic? But if the term "Messianic" implies a commission to propagate the fullest and truest religion, can it be said that the Jews have taken up their privilege? Do they indeed even desire to do so? Here are two striking sentences which, on an unprecedented occasion, I heard fall from the lips of a learned Rabbi, "Of a truth! Jesus is a Saviour of the Gentile world, seeing, that ye, Gentile Christians, are the seal of his Saviourship in God! May then Christianity yet bring many thousands and millions of men to Christian worship, to the worship of the God first recognised and taught by Israel to mankind."² But if Israel claims the privilege, can it disembarass itself from the responsibilities? The prophecy, "He shall bring forth judgment to the nations," is not exhausted by the most decided passive protest against heathen religions. I think that the most candid Jews would not deny the soundness of this objection. I think that they would be foremost to reprove the spiritual pride which seems to lurk in so many Jewish utterances. Israel is not yet a Messianic people, but it may, and, if the visions of the prophet are to be realized, it must, become a Messianic people. Not that other nations are excluded; it is true in more than one sense that—

"All man to be
Will make one people ere man's race be run."

¹ Dr. Benson's words were stronger than those in which I have ventured to convey his meaning. But as they formed part of a speech, it seemed unfair to emphasize the form of this liberal-minded and courageous utterance.

² Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, *Exposition of Isa. lii. 13–liii. 12*, p. 81.

The true Israel is a spiritual one, and embraces all, whether Jews or Greeks, who wrestle with God and for God. Christians of all nations are called upon to do Messianic work, but none have such gifts for this high calling as the Jews. Each nation has its own strength and its own weakness, and the strength of the Jews lies in their intensity and persistent energy. They are a born missionary nation; though as yet the best part of their mission has been obscured by their protest. But now, alas! the eye of the great protester is become dim, and his natural force abated; and before the Jewish nation can become the "lamp" to which an ancient doctor, or the "fountain" to which the great Berlin preacher, Solomon Holdheim, has compared it, it must gain a deeper intuition and a more abounding moral energy. Is it not this which the Deutero-Isaiah saw in vision, when he promised in the name of Jehovah, "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground" (Isa. xlv. 3)? Christendom needs this, too, I am sure; but Israel as a nation, unlike Christendom, still needs to feel her need. Not a mere Reform-Judaism, drawing part of its vitality from the Gospel; not a mere orthodox Western Christianity, but a moral and spiritual new birth through Jesus, can be the climax of her history. "The sons of Judah have to choose that God may again choose them" (Mordecai). But will God again choose them? Surely; "God hath not cast away His people whom He foreknew" (Rom. xi. 2). As the old Hebrew sages have said, "a Divine word, even though conditional, is never recalled." "I am Jehovah, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed." When Jacob's name was changed to Israel, he was a prophetic type of his descendants. In his people he will yet again wrestle with God, and at midnight he will prevail. The past and present sufferings of his race will be forgotten in the great, the second redemption. He will recognise in "Jesus our

Brother," the true Saviour and reconciler of Jew and Gentile; not the destroyer of his nationality, but its glorifier; the personal revelation of Him whose name is Love. There are signs that Jacob's wrestling is soon to begin; can we, members of a Messianic Church, be unconcerned spectators? Can we, and dare we? For there is another strife beginning, and we need Israel's—that is, God's champion's—help. As a progressive Jewish writer (I. Singer, author of *Sollen wir Juden Christen werden?*) has lately said, "the next generation will see one of the most serious crises of history—serious above all for the still undecided religious question." I join him in his recommendation of the study of the *origines* of Judaism and Christianity. God grant that, before the conflict rages fiercely, the Christian may learn to read the New Testament more in the light of the Old, and the Israelite the Old Testament more in that of the New! Then shall we become fellow-champions of a religion, the same in its essence, though not in all its forms—the same, that is, in the heart-worship of a self-revealing God, who has brought us near both to each other, and to Himself by the sacrifice of His Son.

POSTSCRIPT.—The essence of the above article is that, whether with or without orthodoxy, the acceptance of Jesus as the Saviour is the only complete remedy for Israel's troubles. There is obviously a great interval between a spiritual though undogmatic Christianity and a meagre because predominantly negative Reform-Judaism. In the interests of spiritual religion, one could only rejoice if such Reform-Judaism should one day develop into any form of religion which can recognise the central importance of the person of Jesus and of the New Testament. But for the mass of the Jews, a resting-place will, I imagine, long be needed (until they seek a wider home in the general Christian

Church) such as Rabinowicz has tried, in a truly humble and unambitious spirit, to supply. It may not yet be God's time to grant full success to such efforts; the nearest way is not always God's way (Exod. xiii. 17), and we know that in the Apostolic Age the *Minim* or Jewish Christians were bitterly opposed by their non-Christian brethren. But the cause represented by Rabinowicz, if checked now, will sooner or later flourish again, and meantime there is abundant instruction for thoughtful students of the Scriptures in the various documents published under Prof. Delitzsch's superintendence, by Deichert of Erlangen. It may be truly said that they carry us back into the days of the Acts of the Apostles.

T. K. CHEYNE.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

VI.

THE RECONCILING SON.

"For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fulness dwell; and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross; through Him, *I say*, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens. And you, being in time past alienated and enemies in your mind in your evil works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death."—Col. i. 19-22 (Rev. Ver.).

THESE words correspond to those which immediately precede them, inasmuch as they present the same sequence, and deal with Christ in His relation to God, to the universe, and to the Church. The strata of thought are continuous, and lie here in the same order as we found them there. There we had set forth the work of the pre-incarnate Word as well as of the incarnate Christ; here we have mainly the reconciling power of His cross proclaimed as reaching to every corner of the universe, and as culminating in its operations on the believing souls to whom Paul speaks. There we had the fact that He was the image of God laid

as basis of His relation to men and creatures; here that fact itself apprehended in somewhat different manner, namely, as the dwelling in Him of all "fulness," is traced to its ground in the "good pleasure" of the Father, and the same Divine purpose is regarded as underlying Christ's whole reconciling work. We observe, also, that all this section with which we have now to deal is given as the explanation and reason of Christ's pre-eminence. These are the principal links of connection with the previous words, and having noted them, we may proceed to attempt some imperfect consideration of the overwhelming thoughts here contained.

I. As before, we have Christ in relation to God. "It was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fulness dwell."

Now, we may well suppose from the use of the word "fulness" here, which we know to have been a very important term in later full-blown Gnostic speculations, that there is a reference to some of the heretical teachers' expressions, but such a supposition is not needed either to explain the meaning, or to account for the use of the word.

"The fulness"—what fulness? I think, although it has been disputed, that the language of the next chapter (ii. 9), where we read "In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," should settle that.

It seems most improbable that with two out of three significant words the same, the ellipse should be supplied by anything but the third. The meaning then will be—the whole abundance, or totality of Divine powers and attributes. That is, to put it in homelier words, that all that Divine nature in all its sweet greatness, in all its infinite wealth of tenderness and power and wisdom, is embodied in Jesus Christ. We have no need to look to heavens above or to earth beneath for fragmentary revelations of God's character. We have no need to draw doubtful inferences as to what God is from the questionable teachings of nature, or from

the mysteries of human history with its miseries. No doubt these do show something of Him to observant hearts, and most to those who have the key to their meaning by their faith in a clearer revelation. At sundry times and in divers manners, God has spoken to the world by these partial voices, to each of which some syllables of His name have been committed. But He has put His whole name in that messenger of a New Covenant by whom He has finally declared His whole character to us, even His Son, in whom "it was the good pleasure of the Father that all the fulness should dwell."

The word rendered "dwell" implies a permanent abode, and may have been chosen in order to oppose a view which we know to have prevailed later, and may suspect to have been beginning to appear thus early, namely, that the union of the Divine and the human in the person of Christ was but temporary. At all events, emphasis is placed here on the opposite truth that that indwelling does not end with the earthly life of Jesus, and is not like the shadowy and transient incarnations of Eastern mythology or speculation—a mere assumption of a fleshly nature for a moment, which is dropped from the re-ascending deity, but that, for evermore, manhood is wedded to divinity in the perpetual humanity of Jesus Christ.

And this indwelling is the result of the Father's good pleasure. Adopting the supplement in the Authorized and Revised Versions, we might read "the Father pleased"—but without making that change, the force of the words remains the same. The Incarnation and whole work of Christ are referred to their deepest ground in the will of the Father. The word rendered "pleased" implies both counsel and complacency; it is both pleasure and good pleasure. The Father determined the work of the Son, and delighted in it. Caricatures intentional or unintentional of New Testament teaching have often represented it as making

Christ's work the means of pacifying an unloving God and moving Him to mercy. That is no part of the Pauline doctrine. But he, as all his brethren, taught that the love of God is the cause of the mission of Christ, even as Christ Himself had taught that "God so loved the world that He sent His Son." On that Rock-foundation of the will—the loving will of the Father, is built the whole work of His Incarnate Son. And as that work was the issue of His eternal purpose, so it is the object of His eternal delight. That is the wonderful meaning of the word which fell gently as the dove that settled on His head, and lay on His locks wet from His baptism, like a consecrating oil—"This is My beloved Son, in whom *I am well pleased.*" He willed that so He should be; He delighted that so He was. Through Christ, the Father purposed that His fulness should be communicated to us, and through Christ the Father rejoices to pour His abundance into our emptiness, that we may be filled with all the fulness.

II. Again, we have here, as before, Christ and the Universe, of which He is not only Maker, Sustainer, and Lord, but through "the blood of His cross" reconciles "all things unto Himself."

Probably these same false teachers had dreams of reconciling agents among the crowd of shadowy phantoms with which they peopled the void. Paul lifts up in opposition to all these the one Sovereign Mediator, whose cross is the bond of peace for all the universe.

It is important for the understanding of these great words to observe their distinct reference to the former clauses which dealt with our Lord's relation to the universe as Creator. The same words are used in order to make the parallelism as close as may be. "Through Him" was creation; "through Him" is reconciliation. "All things"—or as the Greek would rather suggest, "the universe"—all things considered as an aggregate—were made and sus-

tained through Him and subordinated to Him; the same "all things" are reconciled. A significant change in the order of naming the elements of which these are composed is noticeable. When creation is spoken of, the order is "in the heavens and upon the earth"—the order of creation; but when reconciliation is the theme, the order is reversed, and we read "things upon the earth and things in the heavens"—those coming first which stand nearest to the reconciling cross, and are first to feel the power which streams from it.

This obvious intentional correspondence between these two paragraphs shows us that whatever be the nature of the "reconciliation" spoken of here, it is supposed to affect not only rational and responsible creatures who alone in the full sense of the word can be reconciled, as they only in the full sense of the word can be enemies, but to extend to things and to send its influence through the universe. The width of the reconciliation is the same as that of the creation; they are conterminous. That being the case, "reconciliation" here must have a different shade of meaning when applied to the sum total of created things from what it has when applied to persons. But not only are inanimate creatures included in the expression; it may even be made a question whether the whole of mankind is not excluded from it, not only by the phrase "*all things*," but also from the consideration that the effect of Christ's death on men is the subject of the following words, which are not an explanation of this clause, but an addition to it, introducing an entirely different department of Christ's reconciling work. Nor should we lose sight of the very significant omission in this section of the reference to angelic beings who were named in the creation section. We hear nothing now about thrones or dominions or principalities or powers. The division into "visible and invisible" is not reproduced. I suggest the possibility that the reason may be the inten-

tion to represent the "reconciliation" as taking effect exclusively on the regions of creation below the angelic and below the human, while the "reconciliation," properly so called, which is brought to pass on alienated men is dealt with first in the following words.

If this be so, then these words refer mainly to the restitution of the material universe to its primal obedience, and represent Christ the Creator removing by His cross the shadow which has passed over nature by reason of sin. It has been well said, "How far this restoration of universal nature may be subjective, as involved in the changed perceptions of man thus brought into harmony with God, and how far it may have an objective and independent existence, it were vain to speculate."¹

Scripture seems to teach that man's sin has made the physical world "subject to vanity"; for, although much of what it says on this matter is unquestionably metaphor only, portraying the Messianic blessings in poetical language never meant for dogmatic truth, and although unquestionably physical death reigned among animals, and storms and catastrophes swept over the earth long before man or sin were here, still,—seeing that man by his sin has compelled dead matter to serve his lusts and to be his instrument in acts of rebellion against God, making "a league with the stones of the field" against his and their Master,—seeing that he has used earth to hide heaven and to shut himself out from its glories, and so has made it an unwilling antagonist to God and temptress to evil,—seeing that he has actually polluted the beauty of the world and has stained many a lovely scene with his sin, making its rivers run red with blood,—seeing that he has laid unnumbered woes on the living creatures,—we may feel that there is more than poetry in the affirmation that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain

¹ Bp. Lightfoot, *On Coloss.*, p. 226.

together" and may hear a deep truth, the extent of which we cannot measure, in Milton's majestic lines—

"Disproportioned Sin
Jarred against Nature's chime, and with harsh din
Brake the fair music that all creatures made
To their great Lord, whose love their motion swayed."

Here we have held forth in words, the extent of which we can measure as little, the counter-hope that wherever and however any such effect has come to pass on the material universe, it shall be done away by the reconciling power of the blood shed on the cross. That reconciling power goes as far as His creative power. The universe is one, not only because all created by the one personal Divine Word, nor because all upheld by Him, but because in ways to us unknown, the power of the cross pierces its heights and depths. As the impalpable influences of the sun bind planets and comets into one great system, so from Him on His cross may stream out attractive powers which knit together far off regions and diverse orders and bring all in harmonious unity to God, who has made peace by the blood shed on the cross, and has thereby been pleased to reconcile all things to Himself,

"And a Priest's hand through creation
Waveth calm and consecration."

It may be that the reference to things in heaven is like the similar reference in the previous verses, occasioned by some dreams of the heretical teachers. He may merely mean to say—You speak much about heavenly things, and have filled the whole space between God's throne and man's earth with creatures thick as the motes in the sunbeam. I know nothing about them; but this I know, that, if they are, Christ made them, and that if among them there be antagonism to God, it can be overcome by the cross. As to reconciliation proper, in the heavens,

meaning by that, among spiritual beings who dwell in that realm, it is clear there can be no question of it. There is no enmity among the angels of heaven, and no place for return to union with God among *their* untroubled bands, who "hearken to the voice of His word." But still if the hypothetical form of the clause and the use of the neuter gender permit any reference to intelligent beings in the heavens, we know that to the principalities and powers in heavenly places the cross has been the teacher of before unlearned depths in the Divine nature and purposes, the knowledge of which has drawn them nearer the heart of God, and made even their blessed union with Him more blessed and more close.

On no subject is it more necessary to remember the limitations of our knowledge than on this great theme. On none is confident assertion more out of place. The general truth taught is clear, but the specific applications of it to the various regions of the universe is very doubtful. We have no source of knowledge on that subject but the words of Scripture, and we have no means of verifying or checking the conclusions we may draw from them. We are bound therefore, if we go beyond the general principle, to remember that *it* is one thing, and our reckoning up of what it includes is quite another. Our inferences have not the certainty of God's word. *It* comes to us with "Verily, verily." *We* have no right to venture on more than Perhaps.

Especially is this the case when we have but one or two texts to build on, and these most general in their language. And still more, when we find other words of Scripture which seem hard to reconcile with them, if pressed to their utmost meaning. In such a case our wisdom is to recognise that God has not been pleased to give us the means of constructing a dogma on the subject, and rather to seek to learn the lessons taught by the

obscurity that remains than rashly and confidently to proclaim our inferences from half of our materials as if they were the very heart of the gospel.

Sublime and great beyond all our dreams, we may be sure, shall be the issue. Certain as the throne of God is it that His purposes shall be accomplished—and at last this shall be the fact for the universe, as it has ever been the will of the Father—"Of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things, to whom be glory for ever." To that highest hope and ultimate vision for the whole creation, who will not say, Amen? The great sight which the seer beheld in Patmos is the best commentary on our text. To him the eternal order of the universe was unveiled—the great white throne, a snowy Alp in the centre; between the throne and the creatures, the Lamb, through whom blessing and life passed outwards to them, and their incense and praise passed inwards to the throne; and all around the "living creatures," types of the aggregate of creatural life, the "elders," representatives of the Church redeemed from among men, and myriads of the firstborn of heaven. The eyes of all alike wait upon that slain Lamb. In Him they see God in clearest light of love and gentlest might—and as they look and learn and are fed each according to his hunger from the fulness of Christ, "every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them," will be heard saying "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever."

III. Christ, and His Reconciling Work in the Church.—We have still the parallel kept up between the reconciling and the creative work of Christ. As in verse 18, He was represented as the giver of life to the Church, in a higher fashion than to the universe, so, and probably with a

similar heightening of the meaning of "reconciliation," He is here set forth as its giver to the Church.

Now observe the solemn emphasis of the description of the condition of men before that reconciling work has told upon their hearts. They are "alienated"—not "aliens," as if that were their original condition, but "alienated," as having become so. The same thought that man's sin and separation from God is a fall, something abnormal and superinduced on humanity, which is implied in "reconciliation" or restoration to an original concord, is implied in this expression. "And enemies in your mind"—the seat of the enmity is in that inner man which thinks, reflects, and wills, and its sphere of manifestation is "in evil works" which are religiously acts of hostility to God because morally they are bad. We should not read "*by* wicked works," as the Authorized Version does, for the evil deeds have not made them enemies, but the enmity has originated the evil deeds, and is witnessed to by them.

That is a severe indictment, a plain, rough, and as it is thought now-a-days, a far too harsh description of human nature. Our forefathers no doubt were tempted to paint the "depravity of human nature" in very black colours—but I am very sure that we are tempted just in the opposite direction. It sounds too harsh and rude to press home the old fashioned truth on cultured respectable ladies and gentlemen. The charge is not that of conscious, active hostility, but of practical want of affection as manifested by habitual disobedience or inattention to His wishes, and by indifference and separation from Him in heart and mind.

And are these not the habitual temper of multitudes? The signs of love are joy in the company of the beloved, sweet memories and longings if parted, eager fulfilment of their lightest wish, a quick response to the most slender

association recalling them to our thoughts. Have we these signs of love to God? If not, it is time to consider what temper of heart and mind towards the most loving of Hearts and the most unwearied of Givers, is indicated by the facts that we scarcely ever think of Him, that we have no delight in His felt presence, that most of our actions have no reference whatever to Him and would be done just the same if there were no God at all. Surely such a condition is liker hostility than love.

Further, here, as uniformly, God Himself is the Reconciler. "He"—that is, God, not Christ, "has reconciled us." Some, indeed, read "ye have been reconciled," but the preponderance of authority is in favour of the text as it stands, which yields a sense accordant with the usual mode of representation. It is we who are reconciled. It is God who reconciles. It is we who are enemies. The Divine patience loves on through all our enmity, and though perfect love meeting human sin must become wrath, which is consistent with itself, it never becomes hatred, which is its own opposite.

Observe finally the great means of reconciliation: "In the body of His flesh"—that is of course Christ's flesh—God has reconciled us. Why does the Apostle use this apparently needless exuberance of language—"the body of His flesh"? It may have been in order to correct some erroneous tendencies towards a doctrine which we know was afterwards eagerly embraced in the Eastern Churches, that our Lord's body was not truly flesh, but only a phantasm or appearance. It may have been to guard against risk of confounding it with His "body the Church," spoken of in the 18th verse, though that supposes a scarcely credible dulness in his readers. Or it may more naturally be accounted for as showing how full his own mind was of the overwhelming wonder of the fact that He whose majesty he has been setting forth in such

deep words should veil His eternal glories and limit His far reaching energies within a fleshly body. He would point the contrast between the Divine dignity of the Eternal Word, the Creator and Lord of the universe, and the lowliness of His incarnation. On these two pillars, as on two solid piers, one on either continent, with a great gulf between, the Divinity of Christ on one side, His Manhood on the other, is built the bridge by which we pass over the river into the glory.

But that is not all. The Incarnation is not the whole gospel. The body of His flesh becomes the means of our reconciliation "through death." Christ's death has so met the requirements of the Divine law that the Divine love can come freely forth, and embrace and forgive sinful men. That fact is the very centre of the revelation of God in Christ, the very secret of His power. He has died. Voluntarily and of His own love, as well as in obedience to the Father's loving will, He has borne the consequences of the sin which He had never shared, in that life of sorrow and sympathy, in that separation from God which is sin's deepest penalty, and of which the solemn witness comes to us in the cry that rent the darkness, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" and in that physical death which is the parable in the material sphere of the true death of the spirit. We do not know all the incidence of Christ's death. The whole manner of its operation has not been told us, but the fact has been. It does not affect the Divine heart. *That* we know, for "God so loved the world, that He sent His Son." But it does affect the Divine government. Without it, forgiveness could not have been. Its influence extends to all the years before, as to all after Calvary, for that Man continued to be after Man had sinned, was because the whole Divine government then had respect to the sacrifice that was to be, as now it all is moulded by the merit of the sacrifice that has been. And in this aspect

of the case, the previous thoughts as to the blood of the cross having power in the material universe derive a new meaning, if we regard the whole history of the world as shaped by Christ's sacrifice, and the very continuance of humanity from the first moment of transgression as possible because He was "the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world," whose cross, as an eternal fact in the Divine purpose, influenced the Divine government long before it was realized in time.

As for us, that wondrous love—mightier than death, and not to be quenched by many waters—is the one power that can change our alienation to glad friendship, and melt the frost and hard-ribbed ice of indifference and dread into love. That, and that alone, is the solvent for stubborn wills, the magnet for distant hearts. The cross of Christ is the key-stone of the universe and the conqueror of all enmity.

If religion is to have sovereign power in our lives, it must be the religion built upon faith in the Incarnate Son of God, who reconciles the world to God upon His cross. That is the only faith which makes men love God and binds them to Him with bands which cannot be broken. Other types of Christianity are but tepid; and lukewarm water is an abomination. The one thing that makes us ground our rebellious arms and say, Lord, I surrender, Thou hast conquered, is to see in Christ's life the perfect image of God, and in His death the all-sufficient sacrifice for sin.

What does it avail for us that the far-reaching power of Christ's cross shoots out magnetic forces to the uttermost verge of the heavens, and binds the whole universe by silken blood-red cords to God, if it does not bind me to Him in love and longing? What does it avail that God is in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself, if I am unconscious of the enmity, and careless of the friendship? Each man has to ask Himself, Am I reconciled to God? Has the sight of

His great love on the cross won *me*, body and soul, to His love and service? Have I flung away self-will, pride and enmity, and yielded myself a glad captive to the loving Christ who died? His cross draws us, His love beckons us. God pleads with all hearts. He who has made peace by so costly means as the sacrifice of His Son, condescends to implore the rebels to come into amity with Him, and "prays us with much entreaty to receive the gift." God beseeches us to be reconciled to Himself.

A. MACLAREN.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH AND DISCOVERY.

II.

BELSHAZZAR appears in the Inscriptions as "the eldest son" of Nabonidus,¹ and there need be no hesitation in identifying him with the "son of the king" who was with the army in Accad.² What became of him? We can follow the fortunes of Nabonidus, in spite of the blank between the eleventh and sixteenth year of his reign, and notwithstanding the difficulty of deciphering much of the text. Captured in Babylon, to which he had fled, Nabonidus died within the year (possibly at Borsippa, on the right bank of the Euphrates).³ Can we trace anything of the fortunes of Belshazzar? I venture to think that we can.

After the battle of Rutum the "men of Accad revolted." News of the battle in the south and its results had been

¹ *Expositor* for March, 1885, p. 221.

² Pinches, in *T. S. B. A.*, vii. 150.

³ *Berosus*, Fr. 14. The language of the Inscription may bear the sense that Nabonidus fled (without specifying the place), and that when captured he was taken into Babylon; but I have adopted the interpretation supported by the Cyrus-cylinder. See, further, note 4, p. 435.

conveyed to the north. The country rose, and the Babylonian army in Accad, unequal to the task of coercing the revolters, fell back towards Babylon, or was dispersed. It may be presumed that Belshazzar would endeavour to join his father; and Babylon, with its vast enclosed circuit, would be the place in which the families and court attendants of both would best find accommodation.¹ Hence the inference may be permitted that Nabonidus and Belshazzar would endeavour to effect a junction there. Babylon fell "without fighting or battle," says the third Inscription, and the statement is true in the main; but the language of the annalistic tablet introduces a qualification of possibly some importance if it may be connected with Belshazzar. At the end of the same month Tammuz (June), on the 16th day of which Gobryas, governor of the land of Gutium, and the army of Cyrus, descended to Babylon, "the rebels of Gutium (Kurdistan) closed the gates of (the temple) Es-saggil." Who were these men? What was this temple? The tablet intimates that the rebellion was fruitless and eventually subdued: "neither in that temple nor in any other temples of the country was there found a weapon for its defence." And yet it was not till three months after the so-called capture of Babylon that Cyrus either could or did himself come to Babylon; not till the month Marchesvan (October) did he, "before whom the roads were dark, make peace to the city and promise peace to all Babylon." May not the resistance of these rebels of Gutium in some degree account for the delay in the triumphal entry of the conqueror?

If I may conjecturally piece together the succession of

¹ For Belshazzar's pomp, see Daniel v. 1, 2. The vastness of what was understood by Babylon is represented (on the lowest estimate) as a square of above 10 miles, and consequently an area of above 100 square miles; or double the space of London. The Euphrates divided Babylon into two portions as the Thames divides London. Cf. *Herod.*, i. 178, etc., and the notes of Rawlinson and Sayce in their respective editions.

events, I would read their order and history somewhat as follows :—

The rebels of Gutium—rebels, that is, in the eyes of Cyrus and Gobryas—consisted of the soldiers of Belshazzar's army returned from Accad. On entering Babylon with their commander, his family, and his court, they threw themselves into the temple of Saggil, on the left bank of the Euphrates. This was one of the two temples which Babylonian kings, and notably Nebuchadnezzar, had always made objects of restoration. This temple, or "the temple of the lofty head," formed a prominent feature in the royal quarter or palatial enclosure which, as occupied by Nebuchadnezzar, consisted of the old palace (the modern mound of Amram), the new palace (the Kasr), and the celebrated hanging gardens. Belshazzar's party "closed the gates of the temple" when the news of the capture of Nabonidus at Borsippa or elsewhere reached them,¹ and defied their foes for three months. They were well barricaded, and they had provisions. In their security they indulged in the feasting and revelry described in Daniel v.; and in the midst of that revelry the troops of Gobryas forced the defences and "Belshazzar was slain." Further resistance ceased with the death of the soldier-king. "All the people of Tintir, and all the people of Accad and Sumir, nobles and priests who had opposed the king, he (Cyrus) crushed beneath him, and they came and kissed his feet."

These occurrences, as I have conjectured them, fall into a consistent order; and I venture to think the conjecture less violent than that which makes Nabonidus and Belshazzar one and the same person confounded by Jewish and Greek historian alike. The two men stood to one another in the relation of father and son.

¹ Cf. the language of Jeremiah li. 11. "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end, the passages are stopped, the reeds burned with fire, and the men of war affrighted."

Further, the treatment and reminiscences of these events in the Biblical narrative and the cuneiform record respectively is what might have been expected. The book "Daniel" makes no mention of Nabonidus, whose neglect of the gods of Babylon was notorious, but it emphasizes the impiety of Belshazzar, whose defiant treatment of the God of Israel was sternly denounced and punished (Dan. v. 22, etc.). The annalist-tablet, on the other hand, connects the last scenes of the fall of Babylon with Nabonidus, and—so far as that record is perfect—ignores Belshazzar: and it does so as giving prominence to the king best known to the natives of the land. Bearing in mind that the information gathered from the cuneiform writings may yet be largely increased by the discovery and decipherment of other tablets, it is unwise to consider those to hand either exhaustive or contradicting the statement of the Biblical Book. To my own mind the narratives still remain independent of each other. Daniel, a Hebrew eye-witness, naturally records facts relating to that one of the chiefs of the Babylonians with whom he was brought into contact, and whose conduct was an outrage upon the religion of Israel. The Babylonian annalist not less naturally records the capture of the to him better known king, and passes over one whose conduct to Israel was, from a Babylonian point of view, no outrage at all.

Darius—"Darius the Median" (Dan. v. 31; xi. 1), "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" (ix. 1), is represented in the book Daniel as having received (v. 31, not "took") the kingdom of Babylon at the hands of another after the capture of the city (B.C. 538), and as having been made king (ix. 1). No specific mention is made of the superior king from whom he received his rank, but this was probably Cyrus.

Who was this Darius? In the *Speaker's Commentary* I ventured to describe him as a "historic character of whose

existence no record other than that contained in Scripture had as yet been found." This the annalistic tablet in some degree modifies. I still find it difficult, if not impossible, to identify him with Astyages, or with Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521), or with Darius Nothus (B.C. 424, said to have been an illegitimate son of Artaxerxes);¹ and the words "son (or, descendant) of Ahasuerus" may, in my humble judgment, be either a later addition of a Hebrew scribe or copyist intended to identify Darius "the Median" with some better known prince of that name; or, they are words recording a parent's proper name unknown and unfamiliar in the time of Daniel, though afterwards famous as the title of a king. The annalistic tablet furnishes a record which, if it does not clear up the question of the name, yet attests the accuracy of the facts as recorded by Scripture. When Cyrus himself descended to Babylon and established peace both in the city and in the province, he "appointed Gobryas to be governor in Babylon together with others."² This Gobryas had been previously mentioned as the governor of Kurdistan and as the actual captor of Babylon. The name occurs again in Herodotus as that of a leading Persian general of the time of Darius Hystaspis;³ and if one and the same person be meant, he must have been a man in the prime of life at the time now under consideration. He appears to have stayed in Babylon but a few months only, and his departure is obscurely⁴ connected with the death of Nabonidus.

¹ It would be tedious to give my reasons as regards these and other identifications. I may perhaps take the liberty of referring the student to my *Excursus* to Daniel v. in the *Speaker's Commentary*, iv. p. 309, etc. The identification with Darius Nothus is more recent than those noted in the *Excursus*, but the date assigned to this prince is against his identification with the Darius of the time of Daniel.

² *Expositor* for March, p. 223. Sayce renders "over the (other) governors." (*Fresh Light*, etc., p. 145.)

³ *Herod.*, iii. 70 (see notes by Rawlinson and Sayce).

⁴ The tablet is fractured or illegible here. Pinches reads, "In the month of Marchesvan dark, the 11th day, Gobryas unto . . . and the king died" (*T. S. B. A.*, vii. 144; so Budge, *Babyl. Life and History*, p. 78). Sayce's read-

Who succeeded him? May it not have been one of the "others," or "Darius the Median" of Daniel? Such an appointment would be popular in the army of Cyrus; it would be less humiliating to the Babylonians than that of the general who had actually led the troops into their city; and his age, 62 (Dan. v. 31¹), was that of a man of experience and presumably of tact and governing capacity. Whether he retained the post longer than his "first year," and until Cambyeses, "king of Babylon," assumed it as sub-king under his father Cyrus, "king of the world," remains a matter of conjecture; but for the time he held it, his position would be that of a viceroy or petty king, superior to that of a "governor," but not that of one assuming the authority of the highest royalty.

The "deification" of Darius (Dan. vi. 7) and the worship of a living man implied in it, has often been illustrated from the customs of that day.² In our own age a practice analogous to it has from time to time been pointed out in other parts of the great Asiatic continent; and some record of this may not perhaps be unacceptable.

Take, for example, the religious customs of the Indian province of Berar as they have been noted and explained

ing is different, "On the 11th day of the previous Marchesvan, Gobryas (was appointed) over (Babylon) and the king (Nabonidus) died" (*Fresh Light, etc.*, p. 146). His words in brackets are conjectural. Where so much is conjectural, other conjectures have been hazarded. (1) Was the king who died not Nabonidus, but Belshazzar? This would tally with the account according to which Cyrus sent Nabonidus away to Carmania, where he died in peace (Berosus in Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, i. 20). (2) Were Gobryas (or Ug-bryas) and Darius one and the same person? This is of course possible, but does it not imply that the present text of the Book Daniel has been more deliberately altered than we have any right to assume? To alter Abed-nebo into Abed-nego is one thing; to read Darius instead of Gobryas is another and a very different thing.

¹ Daniel v. 31 should be separated from the fifth chapter, and form—as in the Hebrew text—the opening verse of chapter vi. Darius the Mede had nothing to do with the death of Belshazzar.

² See *Speaker's Commentary* on Daniel vi. 7-9 (c). The reference to the singularly apt parallel of Deioces the Mede should be *Herod.*, i. 99 (not 199).

by one of England's most able civil servants.¹ A regular process of theogony, or the generation of local gods, is going on there; and hero-worship forms an essential element in the devotions of the people. If at first sight the religion of the Hindu population presents a confusion as heterogeneous as the conglomeration of sects, tribes, races, hereditary professions, and pure castes is fortuitous; closer observation has taught men that the popular religion is perceptibly following certain modes of generation, transmutation and growth. And if these modes be, speaking generally, from lower to higher kinds of belief; religious caste is yet sufficiently "fissiparous," by some isolating doctrine, ritual, and superstition, or by some novel and exclusive worship of a new god or deified man, to foil the dissolution of tribal and political distinctions, or to prevent their amalgamation. The Indians worship every created thing, but especially men and women. Nothing impresses the primitive or uncultivated mind so much as human personality or character. It is this which accounts for that remarkable and still flourishing offshoot of Buddhism, the Jaina faith, which is nothing else but the worship of deified men; it is this which explains the hero-worship of General Nicholson during his life-time in spite of his violent persecution of his own devotees; it is this which explains how the Hindu constantly turns his men into gods, and his gods back again into men, and induces him to worship some living man in whom the god actually resides.² Only lately the S. P. G. missionary of Ahmednegar, the Rev. H. F. Lord, came across an actual instance of this superstition.³ In a certain village in his circuit, the people met on the Tuesday of each week to worship a living man. At about five o'clock on the evening of that day the departed spirit of a relative was said

¹ Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, chap. i.-iii.

² Cf. Lyall, pp. 19, 42-44.

³ See *Mission Field* (S. P. G.), for August, 1884, p. 269.

to take possession of him. People came from considerable distances to worship him, to "ask petitions" (cf. Dan. vi. 7), to seek cures; and at his feet as a god they laid their offerings of incense and gifts.

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*THE AIM, IMPORTANCE, DIFFICULTIES, AND
BEST METHOD, OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.*

FOURTH PAPER.

IN previous papers I have endeavoured to show that the true aim of Systematic Theology is to reproduce, amid the infinite imperfection of all human knowledge of the Divine, yet as correctly and as fully as we can, Christ's own conception touching Himself and His work. This we sought to do by careful study and comparison of the conceptions of Christ reflected in the extant writings of His earliest followers.

Our method was that of strict historical research. We nowhere assumed infallible or special authority for the Bible; but we tested its authority and trustworthiness according to the principles of human credibility. Nor did we take account of the opinions touching Christ and His work held by His followers in later ages.

The results of this study, each student will determine for himself. To me, the manifold and far-reaching harmony, underlying very marked diversities in detail, in the New Testament, is abundant proof that these writings are a correct report of the teaching of Christ; and for His disciples' confident assurance that He rose from the dead, and for the effect upon the world of their assurance, I can

account only by believing that He actually rose. And if so, the Christian Scriptures occupy a place of honour and of authority absolutely unique in the literature of the world.

These findings are, however, no essential part of the method suggested in these papers. They have approved themselves to the mass of the students of the Bible. And I have stated them here because I wish to compare them, and thus to compare the method advocated here, with the judgments touching Christ and His teaching pronounced by His followers in later ages and embodied in the creeds and other documents of the Christian Church. In other words, we will consider now the relation between Biblical Systematic Theology and Dogma.

Of this last word, the uses are so various, and the confusion and injury caused by this variety have been so great, that I shall at once define, and endeavour to justify, the sense in which I use it. By Dogma I mean a formulated statement, claiming to be accepted as true, not because of argument adduced, but because of the authority asserting it. Of Dogma, thus understood, familiar examples are the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and the definition of faith of Calcedon, and the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent. In this last, proofs from the Bible are frequently adduced; e.g. *Decretum de Justificatione* (in Session vi.), chs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16. But even where no proofs are given, the Council claims absolute authority, and pronounces anathema on all who contradict its judgments. Or, in a looser yet appropriate sense, the word Dogma may be used for all formulated statements put forth by an authority recognised in any section of the universal Church, and resting not upon proof adduced but on the authority asserting them; even though the assertions make no claim to be infallible truth. Such formulas are merely convenient embodiments of theological opinions held in common by

men associated in the fellowship of some one Church. A well-known example is the *Westminster Confession of Faith*.

The above uses of the word Dogma agree well with its original significance. The derivation of the word suggests something which commends itself to some man or men as good, but about whose intrinsic goodness the speaker pronounces no judgment. So Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, bk. vi. 2. 9, *δεδογμένον* . . . *τοῖς συμμάχοις* . . . *ἕκαστον παρῆναι*; and Thucydides, bk. iii. 36, *ἄγγελον τῶν δεδογμένων*. In these places, as in many others, the word simply tells us the course of action which it *seemed good* to the persons in question to adopt. The perfect tense directs attention to the abiding result of their decision. From this perfect tense is derived the word *δόγμα*; which in Luke ii. 1, as in xvii. 7, according to a common usage, denotes a decree issued by the authority of the Roman emperor. In Acts xvi. 4 it denotes the formulated judgments of the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem about the matter referred to them by the Church at Antioch; which decisions Paul and Silas "committed to" the Churches of Derbe and Lystra, "to keep."¹ In Ephesians ii. 15 and Colossians ii. 14 (20), the word denotes the various commands of the Law given to Moses. The expressed opinions of the Greek philosophers are frequently by Plutarch and others called dogmas. Similarly, in Ignatius, *To the Magnesians*, ch. 13, we read of "the dogmas of the Lord and of the Apostles." This last use became not uncommon in later Christian writers.

Using the word Dogma in this last sense, Preb. Meyrick, in a work entitled, *Is Dogma a Necessity?* speaks on p. 61 f. and elsewhere of "the dogmas of revelation," with which he declares "the dogmas of the Church Catholic and of the Church of England" to be "identical." Now it is quite true that Christ made assertions about Himself and His work resting simply on His own Divine authority. With

¹ Acts xvi. 4.

such assertions the Fourth Gospel abounds; *e.g.* chs. iii. 16, v. 24, xi. 25, 26. In proof of them He appealed to His miracles: John x. 25, 37, 38. In this sense then the promises and declarations of Christ may be called "dogmas of revelation."

While admitting this, it seems to me that this mode of expression is in the highest degree unsuitable. For between the recorded words of Jesus and the assertions of a creed the difference is infinite. The one is the voice of God; the other, the voice of man. Even between the words of Jesus and the decrees of the Ancient Law of God, the difference is absolute; for the one is the immediate channel of life eternal to all who believe it, whereas the other cannot save except by forcing us to the gospel. Differences so wide ought not to be obscured by a common designation. For common designation is very apt to suggest actual similarity. Of this tendency, the book quoted above affords throughout a conspicuous example. To avoid confusion tending to serious error, we shall do well to use the word Dogma only for the formal declarations of the Church and the Churches.

Inasmuch as the theological declarations of the Church have almost always assumed compact and definite form, all compact and definite statements of Christian doctrine are apt to be called Dogma; even when they are only a convenient summing up of Biblical research, and claim no authority whatever except that of the proofs by which they are supported. Of such compact and definite statements, the enunciations of Euclid are, in another department of knowledge, an excellent example. And such statements are a most important element in the exact sciences. But in these sciences Dogma has no place. We accept the formulated statements in Euclid's *Elements* and in Newton's *Principia*, not because of the authority asserting them, but simply because of the proofs therein adduced. Our belief

of them would remain absolutely untouched, even if it were discovered that neither Euclid nor Newton ever existed, or that many of their other opinions were both mistaken and absurd. Similarly, in many great works on theology we have most exact and valuable generalisations of Christian truth, which we accept, not because of the fame of the author, but because of the proofs which support them. These formulated generalisations must therefore, in spite of similarity in outward form, be carefully distinguished from Dogma.

Overlooking altogether this wide distinction, Mr. Meyrick, on p. 2, speaks of "the dogmas of the physical sciences"; which he defines to be "those universal affirmative propositions that are arrived at by experimental inductions"; and of "the dogmas of mathematics," quoting as examples "the axioms of geometry and arithmetic." On p. 154 he calls Newton's great generalisation "the dogma of gravitation." But the axioms of geometry differ altogether from the law of gravitation. The former are the beginning, the latter is the end, of a long course of research. They have little in common, except that they are absolutely certain, are capable of exact statement, and are accepted for sure reasons altogether independent of the authority asserting them. In this last point they differ altogether from "religious dogma," which Mr. Meyrick appropriately defines on p. 5 to be "a proposition regarding God or our relations towards Him, enunciated by authority, and resting on authority rather than on evidence, or on consciousness, for its sanction." This confusion arises from using the word dogma for a formulated statement of whatever kind.

To proclaim to all mankind Christ's assertions touching Himself and His salvation is a chief part of the work committed by Christ to His Church. And only thus can the Church hold out to the world the Light of Life. And this is probably what Mr. Meyrick means by saying on p. 165

that Dogma is of the very essence of Christianity, and that the Church cannot possibly do the work assigned to it except by being dogmatic. But we have already seen that the words of Jesus ought not to be called Dogma. Consequently, to re-echo them in her own language is not to teach Dogma. Moreover the Church is bound to use language which men will recognise as equivalent to the actual words of Christ; for on this felt equivalence rests the authority of the living voice. She has no right to ask us to take for granted, even when using the language of the early creeds, that her words are the words of Christ; for we have no proof, in the promises of Christ or elsewhere, that the declarations, even of a Council of the universal Church, are infallible truth.

The fundamental error of Mr. Meyrick's book is found on the first page. He says, "*αὐτὸς ἔφα* is a good argument with a disciple, but a man must first feel and acknowledge himself a disciple before he will submit to the Master's dictum. . . . When that relationship has been brought about, dogmatizing on the part of the superior ceases to be an offence, and at the same moment argument becomes often mere surplusage." All this is true of One Great Teacher. Yet He condescended to give abundant proof of His Divine authority. But any human teacher who gives only assertions, and looks upon argument as "mere surplusage," thereby proves himself utterly untrustworthy and unfit to teach.¹

It has been often said that the Divine authority of the

¹ For an example of "pseudo-dogma" Mr. Meyrick is compelled to go outside the Anglican Church. On p. 98 he says, "the Dogma that the new birth is the result of, or synonymous with, an excitement of feeling, and that it places the persons who have gone through that excitement of feeling at once in a state of perfection, is not a dogma of revelation, but a Wesleyan dogma." In the exact sense of the term, the Wesleyan Church has no Dogma. For its doctrinal standards are not in the shape of formula: nor do its ministers bind themselves to accept as correct all the statements therein contained, but at their ordination merely declare their belief, referring to certain works of Wesley,

Bible rests upon the testimony of the Church, and that therefore, apart from the authority of the Church, we have no proof that the Gospel is true; and also that the Bible needs an infallible interpreter. But I have in my last paper endeavoured to show that, apart from Church authority, we have absolute historical proof that the New Testament contains a correct record of the teaching of Christ. And it seems to me that the various types of apostolic teaching therein preserved are sufficient by their harmony to banish doubt in all matters vital to the Christian life. Certainly, where after careful study of the New Testament doubt remains, it is not likely to be dispelled by study of the creeds or by Church authority.

It is also right to say that the ancient creeds reproduce very imperfectly the Gospel of Christ. Beautiful and valuable as they are, they fail altogether to set forth salvation by faith, and the Holy Spirit dwelling in the hearts of all who believe the Gospel, as these vital doctrines are taught in the New Testament. There are many single verses in the Fourth Gospel and in St. Paul's Epistles, which describe the way of salvation more fully and in a form more intelligible to the unlearned than do all the creeds together.

The true worth of Dogma is to confirm, or to suggest caution about, the doctrinal results obtained by independent study of the New Testament. It is best, when approaching the words of Christ and His Apostles, to forget the judg-

"that the system of doctrine therein contained is in accordance with Holy Scripture." The doctrine called by Mr. Meyrick a Wesleyan dogma is, not only not taught in these standard works, but is therein plainly and repeatedly and emphatically contradicted.* Evidently, without any occasion, and without any investigation, he has charged with serious theological error and folly an important branch of the Church of Christ. By thus bearing false witness against his brethren, unwittingly, yet inexcusably, he is erecting a barrier of misunderstanding between members of the one family of God, and rending the seamless robe of Christ.

* See especially Sermon XIII. *On Sin in Believers.*

ments of later ages, and to receive in our minds as on a clean sheet the impress of their recorded teaching. When we have done this, we shall do well to compare our results with the judgments of the Church. If these confirm our own findings, this confirmation will greatly strengthen our confidence in them. If the results of our own research are contradicted by the voice of the Church, we shall be warned to examine very carefully the grounds on which rest our own contrary judgments. We shall thus be guarded from undue influence of our own subjective opinion. But the final decision must rest with ourselves.

Some of the many and various objections to Dogma now demand notice. We may fairly object to it when infallible authority is claimed for the judgments of the Church, that is, when creeds are put in place of exposition of the words of Christ, or in place of historical proof that the New Testament is a true record of His life and teaching. Such intellectual submission no Church has a right to demand: for no Church can prove its creeds to be infallible truth. And, as we have seen, such submission is not needful for absolute certainty that the Gospel is in very truth the voice and word of God.

On the other hand, not a few persons object to all definite statements touching God and Christ and our relation to God, on the ground that moral teaching is all we need. This is really an objection to God's method of saving men by faith in the promises which fell from the lips of Christ, which promises we could not intelligently believe, did we not believe His doctrinal statements touching Himself and His work. Many of the recorded sayings of Jesus are formulas of teaching, as compact and definite as any creed, and infinitely more precious. This is an objection, not to Dogma, but to Christianity, to the earnest teaching of Paul and John and Christ.

We can now answer the question, "Is Dogma a neces-

sity?" As understood above, it is not necessary to personal salvation; for so definite is the recorded teaching of Christ, especially in the Fourth Gospel, that a careful and loving study of it is abundantly sufficient for all our spiritual needs. Nor is Dogma absolutely needful even for the highest and richest knowledge of God and the things of God attainable by man; for this may be obtained by loving and prayerful use of modern scientific methods, from the recorded words of Jesus and His Apostles. To a knowledge of Christian truth thus derived, the creeds can add nothing. But the earnest student will unconsciously construct dogmas of his own—*i.e.* his opinions about Christ and His work will inevitably assume in his mind definite form; and to compare his own definite conceptions of the Gospel with the formulated statements of the Church will be a most valuable safeguard to the unfettered independence of his own researches. On the other hand, creeds will do harm to any who rest satisfied with a knowledge of the Gospel derived from them; and to any who, instead of surrendering themselves implicitly to the supreme authority of the teaching of Christ and His Apostles, as recorded and preserved in the New Testament, study this teaching with a mental reserve that no results of their study shall contradict the ancient formulas—to such students Dogma is a veritable and degrading bondage.

This series of papers I shall conclude by a few words about the prospects and promises of theological science. What progress may we expect, and what practical results?

It has often been said, and said with confidence, as not needing proof, that by its very nature theology can do no more than repeat from age to age its old assertions, or at best show their adaptation to the ever-changing course of human thought and life. I claim that theology

has prospects of progress and of acquisition of new truth as full of promise as the natural sciences, and that it promises to mankind far greater enrichment and benefit than they.

It is useless to say that no one now can know as much about the Gospel as did the immediate disciples of Christ. Indeed, in some measure, St. Paul is himself a disproof of this. Moreover, long ago the Apostles have vanished from earth; consequently, progress in theology must be measured, not from their standpoint, but from that of the next generation, and from our own theological position to-day. Truths previously unknown to us are to us new truths: consequently, to reproduce the Apostle's conception of the Gospel is to go forward; for how far below that conception later teachers have fallen, the literature of succeeding ages testifies.

Moreover, I am not sure that we need admit the theoretical impossibility of a teacher in our own day obtaining a knowledge of Christ as full and rich as was enjoyed by the greatest of the Apostles. God may raise up in His Church an intellect as profound, animated by a devotion as unreserved, as was that of St. Paul. A glance as piercing as his would see in the Gospel glass a picture of Christ as complete and glorious as that beheld by the Apostle; and a man in our days would have the advantage of observing God's work in the Gospel during the many centuries of Christianity.

Certainly each student may hope to obtain, by continued study of the New Testament, a clearer view of Christ. And while using methods of research matured by their predecessors, each generation of scholars may hope to obtain a broader and deeper comprehension of the Gospel than was possible to men of an earlier day. Thus, as in the individual student, so in the Christian family as a whole, there may be progress in knowledge of things Divine.

Certainly, continued examination and comparison of the phenomena of Christianity will give, to men and to communities, a deeper and broader view of the eternal realities underlying them.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that already such progress may be traced. Few Biblical works fifty years old are recommended to students now, and doctrines taught within memory of men now living would hardly be tolerated to-day. Of such doctrines, an outrageous example is the teaching, common in the last generation, and asserted even by the great Augustine, that some who die in infancy, especially those unbaptized, are numbered among the lost. The discredit cast by such teaching on Christianity cannot be over-estimated. The progress which has made it impossible is therefore a proportionate gain.

Similarly, we may hope that progress in theological research will remove other misrepresentations of the Gospel which still cling, as we dare not doubt, even to the most accurate presentations of its profound mysteries; and thus remove hindrances to its wider acceptance.

Again, inasmuch as the moral and spiritual influence of the Gospel depends upon intelligent comprehension of it, theological research will, by affording a richer and fuller knowledge of Christ, produce also, in individuals and communities, a richer spiritual life. This has been already abundantly exemplified in the experience of many, who, while patiently contemplating, with ravished gaze, the image of Christ reflected in the Gospel mirror, have felt more and more its transforming power. We may hope that similar results, in greater degree, will follow in the Church as a whole.

Once more. Theological research presents a hope, the only rational hope, of harmony and unity among the various sections of the universal Church. Some would like to solve the problem of Church union by suggesting

or insisting that all Christians, at least those in their own country, should join their own Church. Union in this method is rendered impossible by theological differences between earnest and sincere Christian men. Fidelity to what they believed to be important truth compelled a multitude of godly and learned men to submit, on St. Bartholomew's Day, A.D. 1662, to expulsion from their livings, rather than declare their assent to everything contained in the Anglican Prayer-Book. And their expulsion left them no choice except to form themselves into Churches outside the dominant Church. And similar reasons, with others not less strong, now forbid many Christian men to exchange the forms of Christian communion in which they have found spiritual life for those of the Anglican Church. In other words, differences of opinion in matters theological forbid external union, and, unfortunately, in some cases prevent harmonious co-operation; and theological differences imply, on one side or other, theological error.

Now we cannot doubt that theological research will give a fuller and more exact knowledge of Gospel truth. And just as error hinders progress in knowledge of the truth, so progress in knowledge will overthrow error. We may therefore hope that theological research will weaken, and in time break down, the barriers which now hinder Christian harmony and co-operation. Every step of approach to the truth will bring us nearer to our brethren in Christ.

To bring about this result, the method of research advocated in these papers is specially adapted. The questions at issue are raised above the confusion of ecclesiastical debate and rival Churches to the cooler atmosphere of grammatical and historical investigation. And thus, although our judgment, even in matters of grammar and history, is influenced by ecclesiastical prepossessions, the distorting influence is reduced to a minimum.

The tendency towards harmony of Christians and unity of Christian belief, fostered by modern Biblical scholarship, is very conspicuous in the Biblical literature of our own day. The harmony on the chief points of Christian belief between scholars of different Churches is such that the variety of their ecclesiastical position is hardly or not at all perceptible; and the common effort for a common gain, viz. for a deeper and fuller knowledge of the eternal realities, is a bond of closest brotherhood. Of all this, the pages of this Magazine afford a conspicuous example. Moreover, the comparative unanimity already attained among theological scholars cannot fail to mould in time the opinions of the Churches to which they belong.

To sum up. We have seen that Theology is prompted by phenomena around and within us, of the highest importance, which cannot be explained by anything belonging to the visible world; and which thus reveal the existence of an unseen world above and around and before us. The aim of Systematic Theology is to learn all we can about this unseen world. Our method of research is strictly scientific. We investigate and compare whatever phenomena come under our observation, and endeavour to look through them to the broad underlying principles. Our research soon assumes an historic direction, and brings us into the presence of a Teacher whose influence has changed the entire current of human thought and life. Our task then is to reproduce, as fully and accurately as possible, His teaching about Himself and His work. And this we shall do best by studying consecutively and comparing the conceptions of Him embodied in the extant writings of His early followers. The results of our research we shall be able in great part to verify by observing their effect in our own inner life and by observing the social life around us. And we shall compare them with the various declarations of the Church and the Churches

touching Christ and the Gospel. From this course of study we hope to derive a clearer and more accurate view of Christ, working in us a greater likeness to Him; a removal of the misconceptions which weaken the influence of the Gospel and hinder its reception, and of the barriers which still separate those whom Christ has joined together in one great brotherhood.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

MEYER.

SECOND PAPER.

To the critical adjustment of the text which was to form the basis of his exposition he attached great importance, and lamented the indifference of the younger generation of theologians towards textual criticism. He took his statement of the facts at first from Scholz, but afterwards from Tischendorf's successive issues, which were carefully collated. In this field specially we miss such a general account of the principles on which he proceeded as he contemplated giving at the end of the work; and we cannot but think that the absence of such an account has led to an undue disparagement of the critical side of his labours. Men accustomed to the methods of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tregelles, or Westcott and Hort—to say nothing of the more varying principles and practice of Tischendorf—look with impatience or suspicion on a criticism that rests on no precisely stated theory as to documents or recensions; and the reader is apt, in the absence of any such definite guiding thread, to assume that the judgments expressed on individual passages are unequal and arbitrary. But the judgments of Meyer are by no means mere subjective expressions of opinion; on the contrary, it is his special distinction to indicate plainly in each case the grounds that

move him to a preference. He gives us the materials for a judgment, and he tells us the considerations that have determined his own. He admitted the value of Lachmann's text as an historical contribution, but he could not agree in the commendations bestowed on it; critically viewed, it bore on the face of it more corruptions of the original text than any other recension, not excepting even the Textus Receptus; and he had grave doubts "whether the brilliant Bentley, in whose steps Lachmann was proud to follow, would have been capable of a criticism not at all rational."¹ And, when Tischendorf in his eighth edition drew nearer to the method of Lachmann, Meyer remarked: "I am not quite free from hesitation as to this change of principles, whereby, instead of simply striving for the ideal goal as such, we are again directed, as in the case of Lachmann, only to an intermediate station, the actual reaching of which must withal, especially if it is to be the text of the *second* century, be in numberless cases uncertain."² He hints that the Codex Sinaiticus apparently possessed for Tischendorf too great a power of attraction.³ So far as we may gather from Meyer's practice, his habit seems to have been to accept the text vouched for by the preponderance of ancient testimonies (special stress being laid on the versions), with a reservation to criticism to apply the canon that *that* reading is to be accepted as original, which being assumed serves to account for the emergence of the others, but which cannot in its turn be so readily accounted for. He is at times perhaps influenced too strongly by grounds of internal evidence; but his criteria are for the most part simply the well-known empirical sources of error; and, while such considerations may be urged at times on either side or at any rate affect differently different minds, few will deny that, if the right of such criticism is to be

¹ Pref. to John, 1834.

² Pref. to Mark and Luke, 5th ed. (1866).

³ Pref. to John, 5th ed. (1868).

admitted at all, its exercise by Meyer is as sagacious and discriminating as his statement of the facts is sufficiently full and his exposition of their bearings is pertinent and terse.

But his most distinctive excellence indisputably lies in the field of exegesis proper. Here from the very outset he strictly defined his province, and through all changes of the man and of the book he faithfully adhered to the standpoint and the aim so clearly marked out. Statements as to the nature, claims, and limits of the exegete's office recur in almost every Preface, varied enough in form, coincident in scope and spirit. The following is perhaps as good and full as any: "The common aim placed before all expositors of the word is just to ascertain its *pure* contents, without addition or subtraction, and with a renouncing of all invention of our own, with *simplicity, truth, and clearness*, without being prejudiced by, and independent of, dogmatic *a priori* postulates, with *philological precision*, and in strict *objectivity as historical fact*. Anything more than this they ought not as expositors to attempt; but in this—and it is much—it is required of them that they be found faithful."¹ He was fond of using italics; in a work which contains much that does not interest all readers, they enable the reader easily to seize, or readily to resume, the main points; and, superfluous as they may be in other forms of literature, I cannot but think their deletion in the posthumous issues of the book a retrograde step. Every word italicised above marks an element of importance in Meyer's definition, and calls up some contrasted method against which he has found it needful to protest. The Prefaces, calm and assured as they are in the maintenance of his own positions, abound in courteous but decided polemics directed against one or other of the manifold misconceptions or erroneous methods which he saw from time to time emerging.

¹ Pref. to 1 Cor. 5th ed. (1869).

His first claim for the interpreter is that of entire freedom to pursue his studies and arrive at his conclusions, undisturbed by influences of outward authority or of inward presupposition. It was only in the free atmosphere of Protestantism, owning the right of private judgment, that the expositor could work unfettered; and, while Meyer granted the excellence of much to be found in the earlier Roman Catholic expositors, and particularly in Estius, he discerned in the later representatives of that Church a disposition to defer to Church-authority that cramped meritorious effort even in such a man as Döllinger. He denounced with warmth the attempts to impose restraints on the freedom of exegesis in the assumed interest of the Lutheran Church or of its Confession. He conceived the standpoint of Philippi or of Hengstenberg open to the charge of *having* before it *sought* and of *finding* what it *had*; and he complained of the exception taken to his own exegesis on the ground of its not being confessional or, as some put it more generally, not in the consciousness of the Church. He affirms that Luther himself would have pronounced such rigid Lutheranism unevangelical and un-Protestant; that the consciousness of the Church ought above all to do homage to the principle of the sole authority of Scripture which it had itself laid down; and that the Church has no interest save that of truth, at once progressive and conservative. He declared himself ever ready to sit at the feet of any one, who should show sufficient grounds for setting him right. "Only no anathema in the field of science; only not the evil suspicion, the bitter condemnation, the rushing to and fro and denouncing with a zeal that lacks intelligence, which one has but too often to encounter, however rudely at variance with the dispositions which the most sacred of occupations should instil!"¹ "The Church should be careful of imposing narrower limits on exegesis

¹ Pref. to Matth. 4th ed. (1858).

than are implied in its nature. It has its own limits in language and history ; others it cannot acquiesce in without sacrificing its life. If the exegesis of Calovius could be really brought back in the present time and carried into the future, a Hugo Grotius would still stand by his side in the *Biblia illustrata*. It is vain and fruitless to assign to this science the function of a horse in a mill. Vain, however, is also the apprehension for the faith of the Church. It is just from this exposition of Scripture—the more thorough and objective its procedure—that the Church-confession has to receive, as experience shows, more real confirmation and justification.”¹

While agreement with the Church-doctrine was neither to be *presupposed* nor *sought*, the general result of research was to confirm in substance the teaching of the Church, as he distinctly states in reference to the Epistle to the Romans. If in his second edition he had recalled his earlier view as to Rom. v. 12 and adopted that of the Church, but in regard to the Ego in Rom. vii., had discarded the Augustinian and Reformed interpretation, it was done in either case from a purely exegetic interest. Experience led him to distrust new exegetical discoveries. “A great many entirely novel expositions of individual passages,” he remarks, “make their appearance now-a-days, of which I apprehend that hardly a single one will on trial approve itself correct.”

His own standpoint was at the first that of a moderate Rationalist. In his first volume he indicates how entirely different was his point of view from that of Olshausen, and states that he could not accept as his own the super-rational principles of the latter. Reason was not merely the organ for apprehending revelation, but the criterion by which the pure contents had to be separated from the historical form and setting. “The supreme authority to decide upon this

ideal contents can be no other than reason, and a work dealing with this contents will be—no matter whether it bear the name or not—a system of Biblical rationalism, independent of all forms of current philosophy as of the Confessions of Trent, Augsburg and Dort. For such a work the Commentary will supply the materials to be manipulated and sifted." "Will it be too daring," he asks, "if I should set myself to that task after the Commentary is finished?"¹ Very different is his view twenty-five years later. "It is now an admitted fact, and a significant proof of the advances gradually achieved by exegesis, that the pervading supernaturalism clearly stamped on the Gospel of John in all the simplicity of truth cannot be set aside by any artifices of exposition."² Philippi had objected that his explanation of Rom. vii. yielded an anthropology of a Rationalist character. He replies, that he is not disturbed by the implied censure. "I have simply to ask whether the explanation is the *right* one. If it is wrong, I shall be the first to give it up on being so convinced. If it is right and its contents consequently *Pauline*, it is as certainly *not* Rationalist, for Paul himself was anything but a Rationalist. In fact it was this great and mighty Paul that enabled me, as well as doubtless many others who had grown up in the atmosphere of Rationalism, to *surmount* it—in my own case many years ago; but at the same time kept me from allowing the scientific exposition of his Epistles to be determined or even partially influenced by any human doctrinal conception, even if it should bear the name of Augustine or of Luther."³

But, while he thus strongly took exception to the claim to bias or control exegesis by foregone conclusions of the Church, he repudiated not less emphatically the control of other influences equally ready to assert their power—the *a priori* postulates or assumptions of philosophy. He could

¹ Pref. to Matth. (1832).

² Pref. to John, 3rd ed. (1858).

³ Pref. to Rom. 3rd ed. (1859).

not assent to a method of interpretation which adjusted the meaning of the New Testament utterances to meet philosophical requirements, "as if Jesus and Paul had sat at the feet of Kant or Schelling;" "nay, there are not even wanting products of exegesis that make the holy men of God—Hegelians!" On the other hand, he repeatedly deprecates in the strongest terms the introduction of new-fangled exegesis, or of points still *sub judice*, into the pulpit or popular teaching. "It is outrageous conceit and presumption, when upon matters as to which science among scholars has the right and duty of continuous inquiry, many young theologians, who have barely left the lecture-room and have not had time for thorough investigation on all sides, carry to the pulpit controversial views of their own or of others as if these were already made good and certain, and thereby lead astray and confuse the judgment and faith of the Church. The Church has an inalienable right to draw from the believing heart and confessing mouth of its clergyman the old simple and sound doctrine of the Gospel, as it is clearly enough given in Scripture and borne witness to in our Confessions."¹

Meyer was a disciple in the school of Winer and Fritzsche, to whom he owed mainly his emancipation from the old empiric courses. He conceived that the New Testament was to be interpreted on the same principles, and by the same methods, as other ancient writings; only the special bearing of its contents on the spiritual life of the Church laid on the interpreter a stronger obligation and deeper responsibility. He acted on the belief that the writers had a meaning clear to themselves, and that it was possible to put the same meaning into the words that the writers put. Paul, he tells us, knew how to make his meaning clear, palpable, and apt. In such circumstances the aim of the expositor should be to make *his own* mean-

¹ Pref. to Gal. 3rd ed. (1862).

ing simple and clear. Meyer had little sympathy with the search for recondite meanings in Scripture, with the tendency to find everywhere allegories and types, or with the disposition to indulge the play of fancy in discovering mystic senses, of which the words and the context gave no sign. Nor had he any faith in the success of those who, troubling themselves little about the *letter* of Scripture, hoped by sympathetic instinct to reach the *spirit*. He remarks, that the principles on which Baumgarten—whose love of truth he readily grants—had prepared his exposition of Acts, are diametrically opposed to his own; and adds with a touch of irony, “The new age seems as if it were to be that of the exegesis of the *spirit*, and I must wait quietly to see how it will set in and justify itself. If it does so, works like mine are doomed and belong to the past.” He could not tolerate any attempt to deal with language in a double sense, or, while professing to explain it, to use obscure, ambiguous and laboriously involved phraseology, which itself in its turn stood in need of a commentary. In his later editions he was brought into frequent antagonism to Dr. von Hofmann of Erlangen, “an antagonism which he had not sought, but which it was not his duty to evade or conceal;” and, as he encounters the tortuous explanations and hair-splitting subtleties of that too ingenious exegete, he is not very measured in denouncing them. There is little doubt that he has Hofmann in view, when he says: “Often the doubtful commendation of novelty is purchased only by strange strainings of the text and other violent expedients,” and protests on his own part that “he has striven after a clear and definite expression, that should have nothing in common with the miserable twilight haze and intentional veiling of meaning, which mark the selection of theological language in the present day.”¹

Meyer insisted that language was subject to its own laws,

¹ Pref. to Gal. 5th ed. (1870).

and sought in these a rational basis for his operations. He did not believe it possible to reach "the ideas and spirit of the original" without the preliminary process of carefully examining "the words and constructions." He investigated the words with the aid of whatever light classical or Hellenistic usage could supply; and he held that the constructions should be explained on strict and uniform principles. The authors of Scripture employed the popular speech in accordance with the habits of their time, but there is no reason to suppose that there was any such laxity or arbitrariness in their employment of it as was alleged by the interpreters of the older school, who did not scruple to solve a difficulty by suggesting that the writers used words somewhat at random, and put one particle or preposition in the place of another. He was often charged with undue precision in this respect, with philological pedantry and exaggerated purism, with a tendency to dwell on grammatical minutiae. He replies, that in very few cases has he been convinced of the justice of the reproach; that he will not in the least abate his linguistic exactness, and wishes that it were but attainable in a higher degree; that he had been early trained in it and so is bound to it; that he at least cannot reach the facts without the medium of the words; and that for his part he cannot attain to "the brilliant boldness of theological romancing, which in its light and airy fashion gets rid of the precision and consistency of linguistic demands." He asks that Tholuck, against whom the last remark is pointed, would, instead of frequently carping (Gal. v. 15) at his rigid adherence to rule (*stricte Observanz*), either leave it in peace or refute it, if erroneous; and, after acknowledging the value of such differences of mind and of gifts as distinguished Tholuck and Philippi from himself, he adds, "perhaps the Lord has a blessing now and then even for my rigid adherence to rule."¹ He

¹ Pref. to Rom. 3rd ed. (1859).

attributed much that was loose and unsatisfactory in the exposition of the day to the lack of thorough philological culture, and especially of a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of Greek grammar; and, in one of his latest Prefaces he strongly recommends the second edition (1869-72) of the larger Grammar of his friend Kühner—who was often the companion of his walks—as “a glorious monument of erudition and of familiarity with the genius of the language.”

But, while faithful to his own banner of grammatico-historical exegesis, and thoroughly independent in the best sense of the term, he was ever open to conviction and ready to accept whatever was serviceable from whatever quarter it might come. He was, as he says, indifferent to the *quis* but not to the *quid*. He owned the need of mutual help, the importance of turning to account the variety of gifts and of concentrating different lights, in an enterprise which might fitly command the service of all. He drew freely from the old and from the new, from the Patristic and mediæval commentators (making frequent extracts especially from Euthymius Zigabenus, in whom with much allegoric and homiletic sand he found not a few grains of gold), from the exegetes of the Reformation-age and the following century (“how much to the point we still find in these old expositors! how much to put later interpreters to shame! not only in such heroes of exegesis as Erasmus and Grotius, but even in men of second rank like Estius!”) as well as from the latest disquisitions that came into his hands. He heartily acknowledges and aptly characterises the merits of the fellow-workers with whom he was most fully in sympathy—such as Fritzsche, Lücke, Harless, Osiander, Wieseler; but he is no less ready to do justice to the excellences of others, whose standpoints were more or less divergent from his own—such as Stier, Olshausen, Philippi, or Ewald, Baur, Holsten. Modest and candid on

his own part—never too old to learn, ready to modify or retract his earlier views on sufficient cause shown, and bespeaking gentle and charitable judgment for himself, as keenly alive to the shortcomings of his work and to the disproportion between the willing and the performing—he was tolerant of honest differences of opinion, and only desirous that from such conflict the truth might emerge more pure and clear. “The sharpness of passion should not interpose to banish the charitable belief that an opponent, even when chargeable with error, has been seeking the truth and striving to find it.” “It is the love of truth,” he says in quaint paradox, “that makes us all err.” For some things he confesses that he had a rooted repugnance—for what he terms “theological diplomacy and compromise, the prudent half-and-half attitude of those who would not say Yea or Nay;” for exegetical fiction (*Dichten*) “with its alleged depths and extravagant fancies”; for “subterfuges of obscure words, where clear ideas are wanting”; for “such stuff as Bruno Bauer’s, hardly capable, and certainly not worthy, of serious refutation;” for such popularising of questions of theology as was attempted by Strauss in his later work; for anonymous authorship, with which he was reluctant to enter into discussion, because “every one should carry his honest name with him into the arena, if he means to fight;” but in all other cases he is willing to give and take, and, as he had never spared himself when in error, but had frankly confessed it, he invites an unreserved candour and even sharpness of criticism.

The Commentary possesses the special advantage of having been in all its parts subjected to repeated revision by its author; so that its successive editions reflect the growth of his views, and its final shape presents the results of his most mature judgment. In this way he freely omitted or abridged what seemed less important, expanded and added fresh illustration to the old, and introduced what-

ever was needful to keep the book abreast of the current literature. The extent and importance of these changes are obvious on even a cursory comparison of an old edition with a recent one. He was kind enough to send to me the interleaved sheets of the fourth edition of the Commentary on Romans, on which he had inserted the alterations for the fifth. I should think that the changes and additions, inserted in a clear and neat small hand, amount to nearly a fourth of the volume. A specimen of this process of correction may be seen in my General Preface to the English translation of the volume on Romans. Well might he under such circumstances complain, that his views were often quoted from other than the latest editions, and that he had opinions still imputed to him which he had long since abandoned.

The essential and permanent elements of value in the Commentary are, its comprehensiveness of plan, its unity and consistency of treatment based on the uniform application of definite principles, its ample mastery of the exegetical literature and summary exhibition of its results, its impartiality and independence—above all, its firm grasp and persistent application of the right method of interpretation, and its wonderful clearness, on the whole, of thought and expression. Without here defending the absolute validity of all the positions which he lays down, we cannot but acknowledge their high value and the signal service rendered to Biblical science by his having brought them into prominence and having acted on them so freely and fully. It may be that, as some think, he insists too strenuously on the strict application of his canons, as in the case of the telic use of *ὅτι*, or that there is an occasional redundancy of references illustrative of the *usus loquendi*, or an unnecessary specification of opinions noticed only to be dismissed; it may be too, that the form of the work has suffered from the very exigencies of its growth, so that the later insertions, called forth by controversy with other

exegetes, especially with Hofmann, are at times awkwardly dovetailed or appended; and it may be that in such controversy his language sometimes waxes warmer than his favourite principle of speaking the truth in love may warrant. But, taken as a whole, it must be held to be—what all competent judges have pronounced it—one of the greatest master-works of exegesis, stamped with a character of its own, and realizing most fully its author's ideal of the combination of qualities needed in an expositor of Scripture—a sound understanding, profound erudition, living Christian interest, genuine and fervent love of truth, precision of thought and clearness in expressing its results.

Of the changed form which has been given to the work in Germany since its author's death—a form, under which it still bears Meyer's name and is invested with all the prestige due to it, but has become more or less remodelled by its recent editors Weiss, Wendt, Schmidt, Heinrici, and others, and to that extent is no longer his—I forbear to speak. I have already elsewhere¹ expressed an opinion as to a procedure, which seems to me alike uncalled for and unbecoming, an indignity to the memory of Meyer, and a source of confusion to the present and future student. The English translation, which was suggested and to a large extent revised and superintended by me with Dr. Meyer's sanction—and which is usually quoted as the work, not of the several translators or of the editors, but of the publishers, Messrs. Clark—has at least the merit of reproducing the book in the last and best form given to it by the author—nothing less and nothing more. It is being reissued, I believe, with some notes, in the United States; but the enterprising publishers there have not yet favoured either Messrs. Clark or myself with any specimen of their work.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

¹ See Pref. to the English translation of the Comm. on Mark, and also of the Comm. on Ephes.

THE THEOLOGY OF GENERAL GORDON.

No student or expositor of the Bible can fail to be interested in this subject. Few have studied the Bible as General Gordon did, few have applied it so resolutely and with such mighty results to life. It would be unfair to consider his theology without taking his life as a commentary. I feel, therefore, that I must begin with a personal sketch, and I shall have to refer to this as explaining some of the peculiar views he taught and maintained. No one who knew the General would misunderstand the strong statements found in his writings, but the ordinary reader must often wonder, and perhaps call him mystical and visionary. Many of the criticisms recently made would have been withdrawn, or modified, by a knowledge of how completely he lived the faith he professed.

Towards the end of the summer of 1868 I was appointed to the charge of the Presbyterian Church at Gravesend, and through the good offices of Gordon among others, was recognized as Chaplain to the Presbyterian troops at Gravesend and Milton Barracks, New Tavern Fort, and Tilbury. I remember my first interview as vividly as if it happened yesterday.

When he entered, I was for the moment disappointed. I had heard and read much of "Chinese Gordon," and had formed in my own mind an ideal of the man who had done such wonders. To me that march of the "ever victorious army" is only to be paralleled by the march of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks under Cyrus the Younger; and the character of Xenophon is in many respects wonderfully like that of Gordon. But in the very quiet and unassuming man, with a manner that seemed almost nervous, I could trace nothing of my ideal. In a very few minutes, however, I began to know him; and during the three years of our intercourse I grew to appreciate the power of the man. He

was hardly above the middle height, with black curly hair, black moustache, and features that, in repose, presented nothing striking. But the eye! dark blue, keen, and piercing; it was the eye of one born to command. I do not wonder that with such a look he commanded willing and perfect obedience. How it changed, too! When speaking of some of his favourite texts, it would be filled with a soft beauty that transfigured the face. Then, even more than the eye, was that wonderful smile that sometimes lit up the countenance. It was sweet beyond description, and when accompanied by the merry twinkle of the eye in his times of humour, it was clearly the secret of his power over men. But he could be angry, too, as I well know, with a righteous indignation. I saw him again in church on Sunday, and on the Monday I had the first of many Monday talks over the sermon of the previous day. He was never connected with any section of professing Christians, but he was a regular attendant and an occasional communicant at my church.

I have two books which he gave me, and one of these I especially prize. It is Hall's *Christ Mystical*, and was Gordon's own copy, marked in many places with pencil on the margin, and in others with the leaves turned down at particular passages. It bears his signature (which, by the way, is wonderfully little altered in later years) and underneath the words, "Read prayerfully." Here are two (out of many) passages, and I select them as typical: "It is our faith that must raise our thoughts to a due estimation of our greatness, and must show us how highly we are descended, how loyally we are allied, how gloriously estated." "Know that this is a real, true, essential union whereby the person of the believer is indissolubly united to the glorious person of the Son of God. Know that this union is not more mystical, than certain, that in natural unions there may be more evidence, there cannot be more truth." Much of Gordon's belief in the indwelling of God, which

was the pole-star of his faith and gave him so much happiness and peace, can be traced (next to the Bible) to this remarkable little book.

The other book is Hill's *Deep Things of God*; which he gave me on the 4th May, 1869.

To sum up in a sentence, I never knew a man who lived so near to God. He literally looked not at the seen, but the unseen, and "endured as seeing Him who is invisible."

It will easily be seen that such a man would never have a theology exact and homogeneous in all its details. He took a few great truths of Scripture and made them part of his very being.

These truths were :—

I. The Indwelling of God. Long before I knew him, he had adopted this great doctrine as the central truth of religion, and testified to the abiding peace it brought to his soul. "It would have been a great blessing to me if some one had told me early in my wilderness journey to seek the realization of the Holy Ghost's presence in me, and leave the rest." This was his favourite topic, and I think it possessed him. I have heard him say to one of the big boys in his class, "You know you have God dwelling in you." From any one but Gordon such a statement would have sounded strange, and indeed I have heard some at Gravesend question his teaching. It will be noticed how constantly this truth comes out in his *Reflections in Palestine*. "However we may explain away the term, St. John (vi. 56) states this indwelling in those who eat His flesh and drink His blood, and (vi. 53) states as clearly that except we do so, there is no life in us. Therefore it would seem clear that this eating implies Christ's indwelling."¹ Those acquainted with Gordon's thoughts would quite understand the allusions to the "eating" in his letters from Khar-

¹ *Reflections in Palestine*, p. 51.

toum to Prebendary Barnes, but without such knowledge the statements seem strange, if not mystical. It is the key to his theology, and without the key one cannot wonder that so many critics have called him visionary and unpractical. Judged by the results in the ragged school lads at Gravesend, it was a most practical theology, though no doubt the personal influence of the man was quite as powerful as his teaching.

II. Faith, the result of the Indwelling of God. Gordon held that we receive the Holy Spirit as the gift of God, and that He awakes in us the faith that works out our salvation. "There can be no faith where the Holy Ghost is not indwelling." "Faith is the direct effect of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost." On this point Gordon was very decided. He had no patience with the ordinary arguments for the conversion of unbelievers, and it certainly was startling to hear him say, "No argument is wanting; just realize that God's Spirit is in you." I can testify to the marvellous effect of such teaching on many in Gravesend. He would say to any one who came to him with doubt or difficulty, "Do you know that the Holy Ghost is living in you? Realize that, and all the rest will follow as a sequence." "The nourishing of this truth in daily life is all that is needed" (he would add) "and God feeds us by His holy Scriptures." It will be seen that he rests absolutely on that grand doctrine (as he called it) of the Indwelling of God. In his case it gave joy and peace.

III. An absolute trust in Providence. "Everything," he would say, "is from God, and of God." He held that *all* things are ordained to happen, and must happen. For himself he was only an instrument in God's hand, and his life absolutely at the disposal of his Creator. Hence his courage. Why should he fear? Death could only bring him closer to his God. With many men such a faith would have led to fatalism, but Gordon was no slothful fatalist. He was

one of the most indefatigable workers I ever knew. Up early every morning his first hour was given to prayer and reading. No one dare disturb him there. At light he began his work at the Forts, and often was in Thames mud till two o'clock. The afternoon and evening were devoted to visiting the infirmary, workhouse, or the sick and infirm. Society as such he avoided. He was wonderfully cheerful and bright. "I believe in our active employment in future life, and like the thought."

IV. Union with Christ. This was his constant theme. "Union with Christ by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, is the Alpha and Omega of all life, and this view commends itself to our reason. The outcome of this union is a fruit, and if we seek and nourish the union, the fruits of the Holy Ghost cannot but follow as sequences." His three favourite books were, A Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, Hill's *Deep Things of God* and Hall's *Christ Mystical*. From the first such a passage as "Where is true peace and glory? Is it not in me?" was a favourite quotation of the General's. Hill's *Deep Things* he often mentioned to me as a book to be read and studied constantly. The opening sentence of the book he often used: "How long might one live with some persons who are looked upon as very good Christians, and not know whether they had any souls or not!" No one could be with Gordon for an hour without knowing of the Master he served and the zeal of the servant.

Though Gordon himself thought his belief in the Indwelling of God the most important factor in his creed, I am inclined to think that his view of the Union of Christ and believers had most influence in moulding his character and conduct. In the little copy of Hall's *Christ Mystical*, which he gave me, marked by himself in every chapter, one can see the favourite topics selected. There was undoubtedly a vein of mysticism in the man, and such passages as these he marks with approval. "O Saviour, Thou art more mine

than my body is mine. My sense feels that present, but so that I must lose it ; my faith sees and feels Thee so present with me, that I shall never be parted from Thee." "Our bodily feet move in our secular ways ; our spiritual walk with God in all the ways of His commandments." It is interesting to see how this doctrine grew with his years. In 1868 he held it firmly ; in 1883 it pervades every thought, and is to be noticed in almost every page of his *Reflections*. "We are members of Christ's body mystical, existent ere the worlds were made, yet fashioned in time." "To me the fact that my soul is so united to my body that I know not which is my body and which my soul, is a proof of the oneness of Christ with our souls, neither step being visible as a definite step, while each is a step."

But I feel as I write these things how feebly cold words convey an idea of the man. I look back on the little intercourse I had with him as very fruitful to my own spiritual life. I hope that the marvellous interest awakened in him during the last year may help many to a higher life of faith and duty. Such men neither live in vain nor die prematurely. They rest from their labours, but their example lives to animate others from generation to generation, and from age to age.

H. CARRUTHERS WILSON.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE contributions to New Testament literature which have been recently made by the scholars of France, Germany, and Holland have not been so remarkable as in some previous years. They have been richer in exegesis than in other departments, and richer in the exposition of the Epistles than in that of the historical books. In the Gospels there is nothing to notice that can be reckoned of first-rate importance. The Synoptical problem, however, has been once more grappled with. In a treatise of moderate

compass, but considerable merit, Dr. G. Wetzel¹ takes a favourable view of the idea that the singular resemblances and differences in the Synoptical Gospels are due to original oral communication of their matter, and examines with much acuteness the theories which seek the primitive form of the evangelical narrative in Matthew and in Mark respectively. This is on the whole a successful piece of work, and should be welcome to those who desire a summary of opinion, or a guide through the maze of theorising which has encircled this question within the last quarter of a century. Dr. Wetzel himself goes back upon the *tradition-hypothesis*, and devotes the second part of his book to the construction of an improved version of it. That version, however, is not likely to secure acceptance. It is to the effect that Matthew, whose former employment had given him a better command of Greek than any other apostle possessed, was accustomed to offer instruction in the gospel story to Greek-speaking Jews; that in the discharge of this function he gradually made up something like a course of lectures on the evangelical narrative; that his hearers frequently took notes of these discourses; and that among these more scholarly and interested listeners were both the *πᾶσι* referred to by Luke (Chap. i. 1), and the authors of the first three Gospels. With this as his base Dr. Wetzel proceeds to construct an explanation, in many respects too fanciful, of the characteristics of each of the Synoptists.

The problem of the Fourth Gospel is dealt with in a brief but interesting monograph by a Tübingen scholar, Professor Paul Keppler.² The point to which most attention is given is the *plan* of the Gospel. Dr. Keppler discovers a very artistic scheme in the composition. The Gospel proper is conceived to fall into three great divisions. Each of these is supposed to have three subdivisions. There are also three special sections, viz. the Prologue, i. 1-18; the Historical Introduction, i. 19 to ii. 12; and the Appendix, xxi. This threefold partition of the matter is carried into still greater detail; the Prologue, for example, being taken to consist of three distinct sub-sections. Here surely is a kind of art strange to such a writer as John. Apart from this artificial

¹ *Die synoptischen Evangelien, eine Darstellung und Prüfung der wichtigsten über die Entstehung derselben aufgestellten Hypothesen mit selbständigem Versuch zur Lösung der synoptischen Evangelienfrage.* Von G. Wetzel, Dr. Phil., Pfarrer in Perouse. Heilbronn: Henninger.

² *Die Composition des Johannes-Evangelium.* Tübingen, 1884.

conception of the plan, Professor Keppler gives a good account of the dramatic character of the Gospel and its development of the ever-sharpening antithesis between Faith and Unbelief. While he handles the allegorising habit of interpretation with some severity, he recognises the existence of a symbolical vein in John. He is not troubled much by critical difficulties. Verses 24, 25 of the concluding chapter are regarded as a subscription attached to the original composition. But he holds the chapter itself to be by John, although added as an Appendix.

A larger proportion of what has been given to the public in the province of New Testament literature within the last year or two has been devoted to the Epistle to the Romans than to any other book, and much of this has been of high quality. Among the most important of the recent contributions to this subject is one by Dr. W. Mangold.¹ An earlier work of his, published in 1866 under the title *Der Römerbrief und die Anfänge der römischen Gemeinde*, is well known to scholars. The conclusions reached in 1866 are now reconsidered in the light of what has emerged since then, and with special reference to Weizsäcker's exceptionally able discussions. The new work is at the same time of larger compass than the old, dealing with the objections which have been urged against the genuineness of certain parts of the Epistle, as well as with the great problems of the circle to which it was addressed and the aim with which it was written. For the most part, Professor Mangold is a champion of the contested sections. He defends chapter xv. against the assaults of Volkmar and Lucht. He regards the recommendation of the deaconess Phœbe, which occupies the first two verses of chapter xvi., as unmistakably Pauline, and an original portion of this Epistle. He takes the same view of the greetings contained in verses 21-23, and of the benediction in verse 24 of the same chapter. But he gives up the genuineness of the doxology in xvi. 25-27. And as regards the series of salutations in xvi. 3-16, and the statement and appeal in xvi. 17-20, he admits indeed that they are of Pauline origin, but thinks that originally they formed part of an Epistle, no longer extant, which was written during Paul's captivity in Rome and meant for the Ephesian Church. So far therefore Professor Mangold adopts the idea of Straatmann and Schultz,

¹ *Der Römerbrief und seine geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen*. Neu untersucht, von D. Wilhelm Mangold, Consistorialrath und Professor der ev. Theologie in Bonn. Marburg, 1884.

who discover in chapters xii.-xvi. the *disjecta membra* of a letter addressed to Ephesus. The most interesting section of his treatise, however, is the second, in which he develops his argument in favour of the Jewish-Christian character of these Roman believers. His earlier statement on this subject was of so masterly an order that it took immediate possession of the field, and seemed likely to retain it. The prospect was altered, however, by the publication of Weizsäcker's defence of the Gentile-Christian hypothesis. Since then the best exegetes have attached themselves on the whole to Weizsäcker, and it is more than doubtful whether even Professor Mangold's singularly able re-statement of his position will change the current of opinion. He fixes on vii. 4-6 as his stronghold; and it must be admitted that what is said there as to the readers having once been made *dead to the law* is a somewhat hard nut for his opponents to crack. He is far from successful, however, in rebutting the force of i. 13-15, xiv.-xv. Notwithstanding his very ingenious criticism, the inclusion of these Romans with "other Gentiles" in i. 13, and the whole course of the statement in xiv., xv. about the "strong" and the "weak," and about the necessity of bearing with the latter (not to speak of much else in the intermediate chapters), are difficult to adjust to any theory which refuses to recognise the majority in the Church to have been Gentile-Christian, in respect of nativity, or of doctrinal leaning, or of both.

A monograph¹ on the same Epistle is issued by another scholar of Bonn. Licentiate Bleibtren confines his inquiry to the first three chapters. He does so, because he conceives these chapters to contain the real idea of the Epistle. The dominant thought of the Epistle, according to him, may be expressed in the theological formula, *Sola fide*. The key-note is the phrase "from faith to faith" in i. 17. Bleibtren also adheres to the Gentile-Christian theory. His exegesis follows that of Von Hofmann more than any other. In some cases it is ingenious and suggestive, in others it is fanciful. His interpretation of iii. 27-31 and v. 12-14 deserves particular attention, these passages having led him to a new construction of the order of thought in the Epistle. The monograph is written in a distinctly evangelical spirit, and with much ability. Though it seems to advocate too limited a view of the purpose of the Epistle, and to commit itself repeatedly to interpretations

¹ *Die drei ersten Kapitel des Römerbriefs, ausgelegt von Lic. Walther Bleibtren, evangelischem Pfarrer in Bonn. Göttingen, 1884.*

distinguished by boldness rather than solidity, it has much in it that will repay consideration.

All the way from St. Louis¹ comes another reading of the same Epistle by another German preacher. What seems most distinctive of these studies is the polemic waged all through them against the prevalent conception of Pauline doctrine. According to Dr. Otto, neither the doctrine of Original Sin nor that of Atonement, as these are ordinarily understood, can be made out from this Epistle. Faith, too, has not the sense which Confessional Theology has put upon it, but expresses a consciousness which includes both the element of forgiveness and that of a new life. The Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination is not taught but opposed in Chaps. ix.-xi. He makes little of critical difficulties, however, and seems satisfied as to the integrity of the Epistle.

There is yet another publication on this Epistle which is too important to be overlooked. That is Lindenmeyer's edition of J. T. Beck's² *University Lectures*. Paul's great letter was one of Beck's favourite studies. From 1839 in Basle and from 1852 in Tübingen, he delivered repeated courses of Academic Lectures on the Epistle. It was a subject to which his mind continually turned, and on which he was always making more and more penetrating studies. His lectures, as he left them in manuscript, with all the signs of corrections and revisions extending over many years, are now given to the public by the hand of a careful and competent editor. Few theological professors of the last half century have had the kind of academic influence which was secured by the large humanity, the marked personality, and the spiritual insight of J. T. Beck. Those who came under the spell of his teaching in Tübingen will look with interest into these volumes. They will find in them both the weak and the strong side of Beck's method. They will find a lack of the historic spirit, balanced by uncommon power in grasping the ethical bearings of New Testament teaching. Comparatively limited attention is given to questions of Introduction. The Epistle is supposed to offer a dogmatic and practical *conspectus* of Paul's view of the gospel as the completion of revelation, over against both

¹ *Bibelstudien für die gebildete Gemeinde. Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer*, von E. Otto, Prediger in Darmstadt, St. Clair Co., Ills. St. Louis: Wiebusch & Son, Printing Company.

² *Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Römer*, von J. T. Beck, weil. ord. Prof. der Theologie in Tübingen. Herausgeg. von Jul. Lindenmeyer. Gütersloh, 1884.

legal Judaism and non-legal Heathenism. Many of the conclusions here recorded to have been reached by one who, if he did not take the first rank among scientific exegetes, was a manly and independent thinker, will be consulted with advantage.

There are other books which at present can be little more than referred to. Among these is Philippi's *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*¹—a posthumous publication exhibiting the well-known qualities of the Rostock divine, in whom exegetical skill joined hands with unbending Lutheran dogmatism. There is also the very useful edition of the Gothic Bible of Ulfilas, with Textual variations and an excellent Glossary, which we owe to Ernst Bernhardt.² We have peculiar pleasure, too, in noticing the contributions made by two French scholars, MM. Meyer³ and Menegoz,⁴ to Biblical Theology. The former attempts a reproduction of Christ's own teaching as it may be gathered from Matthew's Gospel. The volume contains much that deserves consideration, both on the idea of the kingdom of heaven and on other parts of Christ's doctrine. The latter limits himself to an examination of Paul's ideas of *sin* and *redemption*. These are investigated with admirable care and completeness. Some of the studies, such as those on the Wrath of God, the origin of the Pauline idea of Expiation, the roots of the Pauline Christology, are more than usually suggestive. Both books, though open to criticism at various points, are of real value, and are welcome additions to one of the most important and fruitful fields of New Testament inquiry.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

BREVIA.

The Appearance of the Risen Jesus to all the Apostles (1 Cor. xv. 7).—The reasons that are assigned by the Commentators (e.g. by Meyer), for taking the "all" of ver. 8 as masculine, and referring it back to "the apostles"

¹ *Erklärung des Briefes Pauli an die Galater. Aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlass der akademischen Vorlesungen von S. F. A. Philippi.* Gütersloh, 1884.

² *Die gothische Bibel des Vulfila nebst der Skeireins, dem Kalender und den Urkunden.* Herausgegeben von Ernst Bernhardt. Halle, 1884.

³ *Le Christianisme du Christ, etc.* Par D.—H. Meyer. Paris: Fischbacher.

⁴ *Le Pêché et la Rédemption d'après Saint Paul.* Par Eugène Menegoz. Paris: Fischbacher.

of ver. 7 seem decisive. But, if Paul says here: "then to all the apostles, last of all [of them], however, to me," two corollaries appear to follow. (1) The "last of all" is subordinate to, not co-ordinate with, the *ἔπειτα* of ver. 7, and thus the chain *ἔπειτα—ἔπειτα—ἔσχατον πάντων* is broken and the argument from it that the Apostle is giving a *Chronological* list of the appearances of Jesus, fails. The series of *ἔπειτα—ἔπειτα* would be appropriate in any enumeration on any scheme (cf. xii. 28). (2) The appearance of Jesus to Paul is contained in the appearance to all the apostles of ver. 7, and thus a suspicion is raised that ver. 7 is not intended to assert an appearance to the apostles collectively, but rather an appearance to them distributively,—not one appearance to twelve men but twelve appearances massed together in a single statement. Do the other contextual hints support so unexpected a result? The position of the *πάντων* in ver. 7, is certainly in its favour (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 17; Rom. xii. 4., xvi. 16; Jelf's *Grammar*, § 454, 1). The confusing change from the *τοῖς δώδεκα* of ver. 5 to the *τοῖς ἀποστόλοις* of ver. 7, which has troubled the commentators, would be thus explained. The strong declaration of the Apostle that the appearance to the five hundred (*ἐφ' ἑκατὸν*) was a single appearance is explained. And finally, the repetition of the *πάντων* of ver. 7 in the *πάντων* of ver. 8, and of the *ἀποστόλοις* in the *ἀποστόλων* of ver. 9, and the *ἐκάνοι* of ver. 11, all favour the distributive sense of *πάντων*. If such an understanding of the passage be deemed the legitimate one, we learn thus incidentally of several appearances of the risen Jesus not elsewhere recorded (cf. Acts i. 3), and a new point is given to such a passage as 1 Cor. ix. 1. Did each apostle receive, then, a special and personal visitation from the risen Lord?

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

The Seal of Obadiah.—In 1 Kings xxi. 8 we are told of Jezebel, that she wrote letters in Ahab's name, which secured the death of Naboth, and sealed them with the king's seal. The seal which witnessed Jezebel's fatal letter would be a precious historical relic, while next to it in value would be that of Ahab's prime minister, to which perhaps the following narrative pertains. In the *Revue Archéologique* for January last, M. Clermont-Ganneau, the eminent explorer of Palestinian antiquities, inserted a brief article on a seal lately discovered in Palestine. He dates it so

far back as the 8th or 9th century B.C. It is shaped in the form of an ellipse, and has engraved on it in Phenician characters the words "Obadiah, the servant of the king." The title here given to Obadiah, "servant of the king," is found in several places of the Old Testament; as in 2 Sam. xviii., and in Jeremiah xxxviii. 7 and xxxix. 16, as applied to an Ethiopian eunuch who befriended the imprisoned prophet. As for the name Obadiah, there are two persons known by it—the prophet, and the prime minister of Ahab, who described himself to Elijah as fearing the Lord from his youth, and as having protected the prophets of Jehovah when Jezebel sought to slay them. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that possibly in this seal we possess a relic of this ancient worthy. His position in the royal household of Ahab would entitle him to style himself "servant of the king," while in his name Obadiah, "servant of Jehovah," lies an indication of his pious character. Jewish seals of this antiquity are very rare. Some three years ago the same journal described another one—an agate—found at Babylon, on which a Jew called himself Baal-Nathan, "Gift of Baal." On this seal was a genuine picture of Baal or the Sun-god, offering a striking confirmation of the fearful prevalence of that bloodthirsty Phenician worship against which the Book of Kings bears such strong testimony. The image of Baal is that of a divine personage holding a serpent in each hand, on his head a solar disc between two horns, from each of which depends a serpent. Two wings extend from each side of the figure. Seals of this type must have been common among the Jews, as M. Mordtmann discovered a similar one in Constantinople in 1881. The article which describes these latter seals (*Revue Archéologique*, 1882, p. 285), well points out the evidence of Jewish idolatry and faithlessness contained in the contrast between the names Jonathan and Baal-Nathan. Jonathan is Gift of Jehovah, and is equivalent to Nathanael or Theodore. In the name Baal-Nathan the holy name Jah is displaced by Baal, as Jehovah was displaced by idols. These seals indeed are very ancient, yet they are surpassed in antiquity by two described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1883, p. 102, if Clermont-Ganneau be correct. He attributes the one to a son of David by his wife Haggith (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Kings i. 5), and the other to Adriel, king Saul's son-in-law (1 Sam. xviii. 19).

GEORGE T. STOKES.

INDEX.

	PAGE
Anonymous.	
"Natural Law in the Spiritual World."	
A Defence. I.	241
II.	347
Rev. Joseph Agar Beet.	
The Aim, Importance, Difficulties, and Best Method of Systematic Theology.	
I.	111
II.	176
III.	364
IV.	438
E. A. Wallis Budge.	
The Seraphim	319
The Cherubim	400
Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D.	
Lord Sabaoth	318
Notes on Ecclesiastes	319
The Seraphim	319
The Cherubim	400
The Jews and the Gospel	401
Rev. Professor S. Ives Curtiss, D.D.	
Recent American Literature on the Old Testament	312
Rev. Professor William P. Dickson, D.D.	
Meyer	376, 451

	PAGE
Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D.	
Dives and Lazarus	45
Recent English Literature on the New Testament	150, 391
Dr. Parker's Commentary on the Bible	159
A Modern Greek on the Revised Version of the New Testament	237
Professor Henry Drummond.	
The Contribution of Science to Christianity.	
I.	28
II.	102
Bishop Temple on Science and Religion	77
E.	
Brugsch's Religion and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians	156
M. Naville and the Exodus	399
Rev. Canon T. S. Evans, M.A.	
Exegetical Notes from Sermons :—	
Our Fellowship with Christ in Nature	303
The Transfiguration of the Body	361
Rev. Professor J. M. Fuller, M.A.	
The Book of Daniel in the Light of Recent Research and Discovery	217, 431
Rev. Professor F. Godet, D.D.	
The First Love and Hope in Thessalonica	81
The Struggle for Christian Liberty in Galatia	283
Edmund Gosse.	
Bishop Martensen	59
Rev. John Ker, D.D.	
The Better Resurrection	161
Rev. Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick, M.A.	
Recent English Literature on the Old Testament	232
Right Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L.	
Recent Researches on the New Testament	1

Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D.

PAGE

The Epistle to the Colossians.

- I. The Writer and the Readers 12
- II. The Prelude 127
- III. The Prayer 187
- IV. The Father's Gifts through the Son 254
- V. The Glory of the Son in His Relation to the
Father, the Universe, and the Church 321
- VI. The Reconciling Son 418

Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D.

- The Second Book of Moses 305

Rev. Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D.D.

- Recent Foreign Literature on the ^{NEW}Old Testament 469

George Augustus Simcox, M.A.

- Canon Mozley 200

Rev. William Henry Simcox, M.A.

- A Campaigner's Beverage 226

Rev. Professor George T. Stokes, M.A.

- The Fayûm Manuscripts 334
- The Seal of Obadiah 475

Professor H. L. Strack, D.D.

- Recent Foreign Literature on the Old Testament 69

Rev. Professor B. B. Warfield, D.D.

- The Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Testament 142
- The Scenes of the Baptist's Work 267
- The Appearance of the Risen Jesus to all the Apostles 474

Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D.

- Joseph and Mary 120

Rev. H. Carruthers Wilson.

- The Theology of General Gordon 464

The Editor.

PAGE

	The Sealing of the Heavenly Bread	79
	Alphæus and Klopas	79
o	Old Testament Notes	160
	Mark Rutherford	239

INDEX TO SCRIPTURES.

	PAGE		PAGE
Exodus	305	Galatians	283
Psalms cx.	226	Philippians iii. 20, 21	361
Canticles ii. 8, 5	160	Colossians i. 1-2	12
vii. 9	160	i. 3-8	127
Daniel	217, 431	i. 9-12	187
Matthew i. 18	120	i. 12-14	254
x. 8	79	i. 15-18	321
Luke i. 26	120	i. 19-23	418
xvi. 19-31	45	Thessalonians	81
John vi. 27	79	Hebrews ii. 14	303
Romans ix. 29	318	xi. 85	161
1 Corinthians i. 16, 17	304	James v. 4	318

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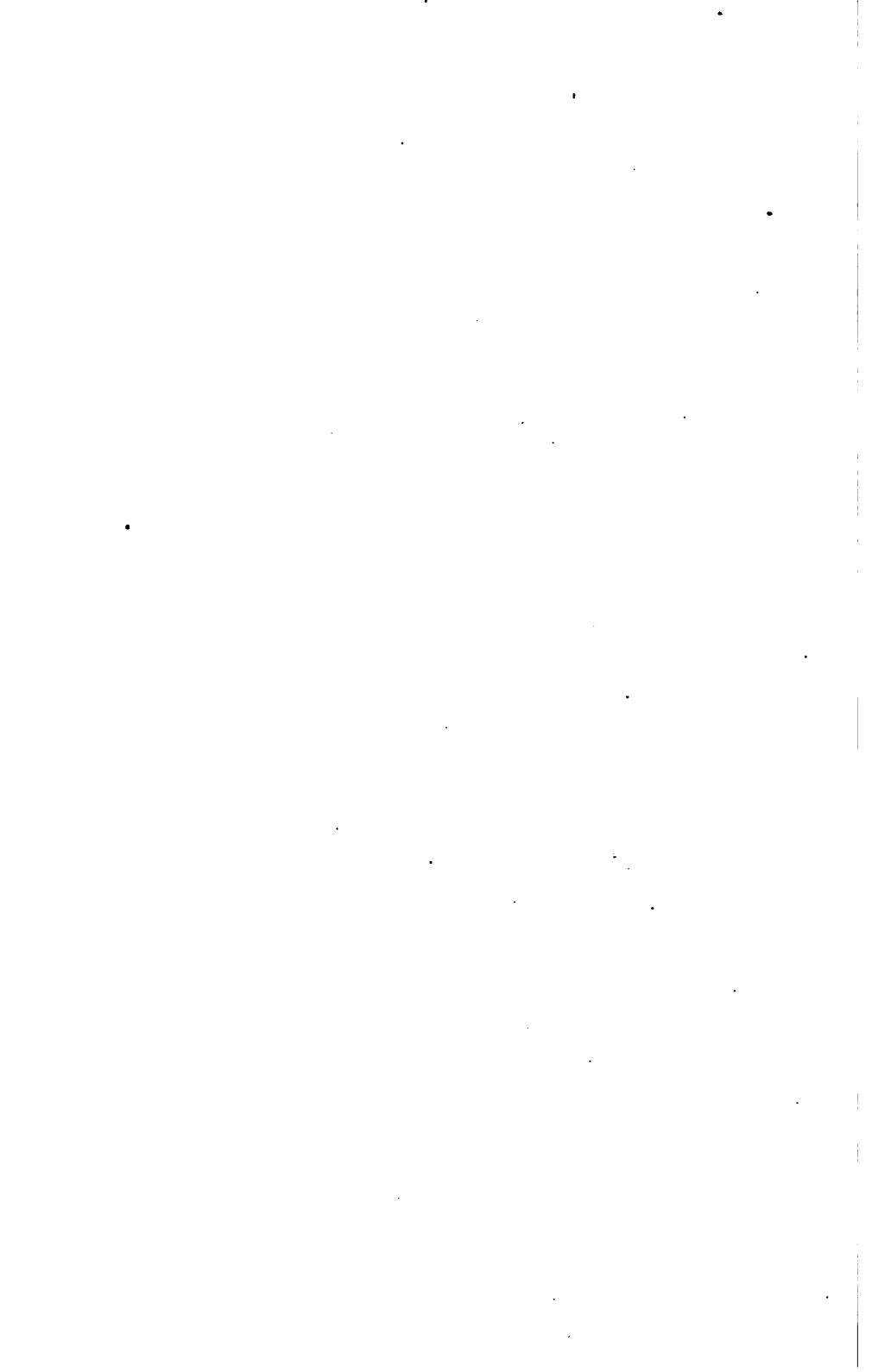
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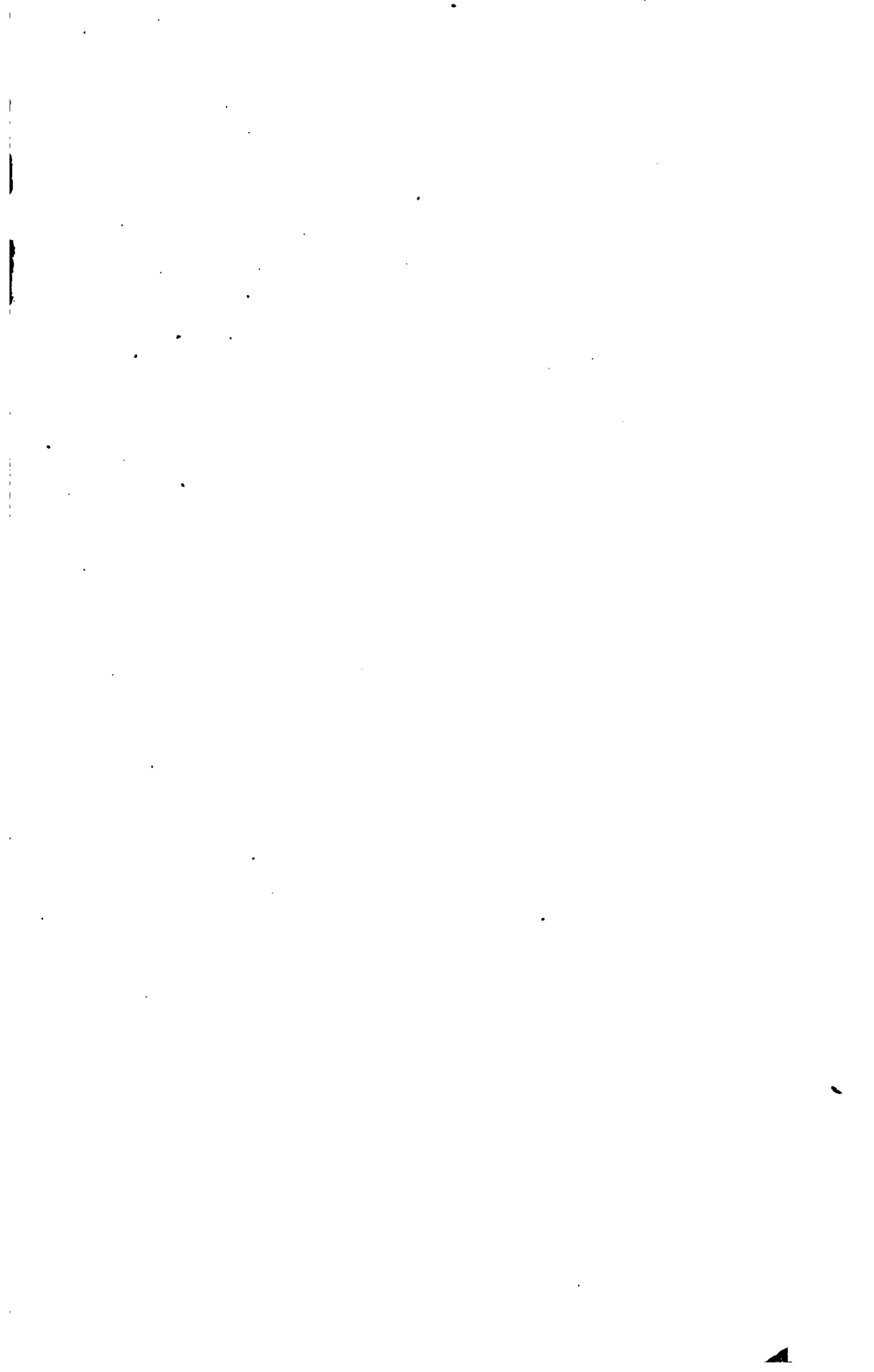
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